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ABSTRACT

This proposed amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 would authorize the Commissioner of Education to make grants to public and private nonprofit educational agencies and organizations for establishment and operation of several Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers, reflecting readily identifiable ethnic groups represented in the population of the United States. Each Center would carry on activities related to a single culture or regional group of cultures. The activities of the Centers would include: (1) the development of curriculum materials for use in elementary and secondary schools which deal with the history, geography, society, and general culture of the group with which it is concerned, and with its contributions to the American heritage, and (2) dissemination of such materials. The Commissioner would make grants to Centers which use the research facilities and personnel of colleges and universities, the special knowledge of ethnic groups in local communities and foreign students in the United States, and the expertise of elementary and secondary school teachers. The bill authorizes ten million dollars for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and 20 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971. (JM)

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ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

GENERAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H.R. 14910

A BILL TO PROVIDE A PROGRAM TO IMPROVE THE OPPORTUNITY OF STUDENTS IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS TO STUDY CULTURAL HERITAGES OF THE MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE NATION

HEARINGS HELD IN WASHINGTON, D.C., FEBRUARY 16, 17, 18, 24, 26; MARCH 4, 5, 19; AND MAY 6, 1970

Printed for the use of the Committee on Education and Labor

CARL D. PERKINS, *Chairman*

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION
& WELFARE

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ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

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ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1970

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
GENERAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 10:20 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 2175, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Roman C. Pucinski (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Pucinski and Hawkins.

Staff members present: John F. Jennings, majority counsel; Alexandra Kisla, clerk; and Charles Radcliffe, minority counsel for education.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The subcommittee will come to order.

Gentlemen, I wonder if we could ask you to come to the witness stand. We will take your testimony separately, but we will also handle it as a panel, if you have no objection.

We are starting today on what I hope will be an interesting set of hearings. I have a brief opening statement which I would like to read quickly to perhaps set the tone as to how I feel about this problem.

There is a growing sense of sameness permeating our existence—threatening to quiet the creative outpourings of the human soul and the gentle sensitivity of one man to the uniqueness and humanity of another.

Clearly, this sustained melancholia has touched all our lives. Perhaps most seriously afflicted by the deteriorating quality of human life are the young. The Nation's youth are engrossed in a restless, sometimes tumultuous, and often threatening search for identity. Our young people want to know who they are, where they belong, how they can remain distinctive: special individuals amidst the pervasive pressure for conformity.

Therefore, it is to the young—and to their quest for self-knowledge and human understanding—that we dedicate these hearings on the ethnic heritage studies centers bill, H.R. 14910.

This important legislative proposal recognizes a twofold purpose: First, that American youth should have the opportunity to study, in depth, about their own ethnic backgrounds—about the rich traditions of their forefathers in the arts and humanities, languages and folklore, natural and social sciences—and the many ways in which these past generations have contributed to American life and culture.

A second and equally vital purpose of the bill is to create greater awareness and appreciation of the multiethnic composition of our society through broadly based study of the readily identifiable ethnic groups in our Nation.

There are some who would question the value of studying about differences among human groups—about the ways in which we are culturally unique and in a sense separate from one another. But they overlook the basic fact that diversity has brought strength to our Nation; that differences, when understood and valued, can unite disparate groups.

Experience has taught us that the pressure toward homogeneity has been superficial and counterproductive; that the spirit of ethnicity, now lying dormant in our national soul, begs for reawakening in a time of fundamental national need.

The ethnic heritage studies centers bill can create this cultural renaissance. The bill would establish a series of ethnic heritage studies centers, each focused on a single ethnic group or regional group of ethnic cultures, to develop curriculum materials for elementary and secondary schools and to train teachers in their use.

Each center would draw upon the research facilities and personnel of colleges and universities, the special knowledge of ethnic groups in local communities and foreign students in the United States, and the expertise of elementary and secondary schoolteachers.

For these purposes the bill authorizes \$10 million for fiscal 1970, and \$20 million for fiscal 1971.

In conclusion, I want to commend the cosponsors of these bills—Congressmen John H. Dent, John Brademas, Augustus F. Hawkins, William D. Hathaway, James H. Scheuer, William "Bill" Clay, Adam C. Powell, William T. Murphy, Glenn Anderson, John Conyers, Jr., Edward J. Derwinski, Leonard Farbstein, Margaret M. Heckler, Spark M. Matsunaga, Melvin Price, and Edward R. Roybal for their far-sightedness and imagination in recognizing the need for leadership on this important legislative provision.

The General Subcommittee on Education looks forward to productive, stimulating, and informative hearings on the ethnic studies bill.

Without objection, we will put in the record at this point H.R. 14910 and a summary of its contents.

(The material referred to follows:)

[H.R. 14910, 91st Cong., first sess.]

A BILL To provide a program to improve the opportunity of students in elementary and secondary schools to study cultural heritages of the major ethnic groups in the Nation

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as "The Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act of 1969."

SEC. 2. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new title:

"TITLE IX—ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

"STATEMENT OF POLICY

"SEC. 901. This title is enacted in recognition of the heterogeneous composition of the Nation and of the facts that in a multi-ethnic society, a greater understanding of the contributions of one's own heritage and those of one's fellow citizens can contribute to a more harmonious, patriotic, and committed populace. It is further enacted in recognition of the principle that all students in elementary and secondary schools of the Nation should have an opportunity to learn about the differing and unique contributions to the national heritage made by each ethnic group. It is the purpose of this title to assist schools and school sys-

tems in affording each of their students an opportunity to learn about the nature of his own cultural heritage, and those in which he has interest, and to study the contributions of these forebears to the Nation.

"ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

"SEC. 902. The Commissioner is authorized to arrange through grants to public and private nonprofit educational agencies and organizations for the establishment and operation of a number of Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers, reflecting the readily identifiable ethnic groups represented in the population of the United States. Each such Center shall carry on activities related to a single culture or regional group of cultures.

"ACTIVITIES OF ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

"SEC. 903. Each Center provided for under this title shall—

"(1) develop curriculum materials for use in elementary and secondary schools which deal with the history, geography, society, economy, literature, art, music, drama, language, and general culture of the group with which the Center is concerned, and the contributions of that ethnic group to the American heritage,

"(2) disseminate curriculum materials to permit their use in elementary and secondary schools throughout the Nation, and

"(3) provide training for persons utilizing or preparing to utilize the curriculum materials developed under this title.

"ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

"SEC. 904. (a) In carrying out this title, the Commissioner shall make arrangements which will utilize (1) the research facilities and personnel of colleges and universities, (2) the special knowledge of ethnic groups in local communities and of foreign students pursuing their education in this country, and (3) the expertise of elementary and secondary school teachers.

"(b) Funds appropriated to carry out this title may be used to cover all or part of the cost of establishing, equipping, and operating the Centers, including the cost of research materials and resources, academic consultants, and the cost of training of staff for the purpose of carrying out the purposes of this title. Such funds may also be used to provide stipends (in such amounts as may be determined in accordance with regulations of the Commissioner) to individuals receiving training in such Centers, including allowances for dependents.

"AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

"SEC. 905. There is authorized to be appropriated to carry out this title for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970 the sum of \$10,000,000, and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, the sum of \$20,000,000."

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS BILL

SUMMARY OF H.R. 14910

Sponsors.—Introduced November 20, 1969, by Congressman Roman C. Pucinski for himself and Congressmen John H. Dent, Augustus F. Hawkins, William D. Hathaway, Adam C. Powell, William T. Murphy, Glenn Anderson, John Conyers, Jr., Edward J. Derwinski, Leonard Farbstein, Margaret M. Heckler, Spark M. Matsunaga, Melvin Price, and Edward R. Roybal. Referred to the House Committee on Education and Labor, General Subcommittee on Education.

Purpose.—To provide a program to improve the opportunity of students in elementary and secondary schools to study cultural heritages of the major ethnic groups in the nation and gain greater appreciation of the multiethnic nature of the American population.

Amending the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 by adding a new title—"Title IX—Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers."

Section 902:

Authorizes the Commissioner of Education to make grants to public and private nonprofit educational agencies and organizations for establishment and operation

of a number of Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers, reflecting readily identifiable ethnic groups represented in the population of the United States.

Each Center shall carry on activities related to a single culture or regional group of cultures.

Section 903:

Activities of the Centers:

- (1) To develop curriculum materials for use in elementary and secondary schools which deal with the history, geography, society, economy, literature, art, music, drama, language, and general culture of the group with which it is concerned, and about the contributions of that group to the American heritage.
- (2) To disseminate such materials
- (3) To provide training for persons using such materials

Section 904:

The Commissioner shall make grants to Centers which draw upon—

- (1) The research facilities and personnel of colleges and universities
- (2) The special knowledge of ethnic groups in local communities and foreign students in the United States
- (3) The expertise of elementary and secondary school teachers

Funds appropriated under Title IX may be used for establishing, equipping, and operating the Centers, such as costs of research materials and resources, academic consultants, and the costs of training staff.

Section 905:

The bill authorizes \$10 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and \$20 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971.

(H.R. 15493—A bill identical to H.R. 14910 introduced January 21, 1970, by Congressman Roman C. Pucinski for himself and Congressman John Brademas, James Scheuer, and William "Bill" Clay.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. It occurs to me that this legislation did not come too soon, because as I said earlier in my remarks, we are in this country trying to homogenize 200 million humans into a single monolith, instead of recognizing that America is a magnificent mosaic, made up of many cultures. It is amazing how we can live in the same neighborhood and work with the same people and go to church in the same community and yet know so very little about each other.

It seems to me that particularly is this true now in the many racial conflicts we witness in the country. Many people have a very distorted view of the nonwhites of America, and too often Americans' concept of their nonwhite fellow citizens is one of recalling that they were brought to this country in chains as slaves, totally unmindful of the deep and rich historic, cultural decades that preceded many of them over the span of history.

So it seems to me that there is a great logic in this bill, and we are hoping that the witnesses that we have today and future witnesses will be able to focus on the fact that there is no conflict between being a very loyal, dedicated, patriotic American citizen and still be fully aware of your cultural, ethnic background.

I think it is in this that we can find our great strength and perhaps make some meaningful contribution toward bringing Americans together and helping them understand each other better as American citizens. I think the brotherhood of man lies in the orderly enactment of this legislation, and in implementing it across the country with the kind of centers that this legislation envisions.

So we are very happy to welcome to this committee our first panel of witnesses, each well known in his own work in the field of ethnic studies.

We are very pleased to welcome here today Dr. Stanley Spector, director of the East Asian Language and Area Center of Washington University in St. Louis; Dr. Eric Hamp, director, Center for Slavic and Balkan Studies, University of Chicago; and Dr. Victor Greene, associate professor of history, Kansas State University, and executive secretary of the Immigration History Group, American Historical Association.

Gentlemen, I am very pleased to welcome you here, and I hope that each of you will proceed in his own manner as he wishes. I presume you have opening statements. Your statements will appear in their entirety in the record at this point, and then you can elaborate and we will have more time for questions.

Why don't we start with Dr. Spector, Dr. Hamp, and Dr. Greene in that order, and then perhaps we can all work as a panel and answer questions?

A PANEL CONSISTING OF DR. STANLEY SPECTOR, DIRECTOR, EAST ASIAN LANGUAGE AND AREA CENTER, WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS, MO.; DR. ERIC HAMP, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR SLAVIC AND BALKAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, CHICAGO, ILL.; AND DR. VICTOR GREENE, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY, AND EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, IMMIGRATION HISTORY GROUP, AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Dr. SPECTOR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am very much honored and pleased to be asked by the committee to testify on H.R. 14910, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers bill, which I believe is one of the truly farsighted measures that is before the present congressional committee and one of the most important acts of legislation that could be passed as an auspicious opening to the 1970's.

I will briefly identify myself further in order to give the committee an opportunity to judge my qualifications for several of the statements which I will be making.

In addition to being director of the East Asian Language and Area Center at Washington University, where we teach Chinese, Japanese, and Indonesian languages, I have had the privilege over the past 3 years to work on behalf of the U.S. Office of Education as director of their summer seminars overseas in Southeast Asia for secondary school and college teachers, where we have observed closely the societies of Southeast Asia and have tried to bring back to schoolchildren in America some concept of these societies.

I am also the director of the Office of International Studies at Washington University, and among my duties are to have a relationship with the various ethnic communities in the Greater St. Louis area, as well as to oversee various foreign exchanges and to be generally responsible for academic exchanges, foreign students, and similar matters.

But perhaps my most rewarding experience in the last 20 years has been the privilege I have had under a grant from the Carnegie Corp., to introduce Chinese and Japanese languages and cultural

programs into the secondary schools of the Greater St. Louis area, both in integrated schools and in suburban schools.

Also, for the Modern Language Association, to be a general inspector of Chinese and Japanese language inspection throughout the country several years ago.

I would like to speak from this experience and also from my concerns as an American citizen.

The present bill deals with environment and pollution in a very fundamental way. I am speaking of the social environment. I am not speaking of air pollution, but of the pollution of values and psychological pollution that has been in our society for a long time.

This pollution is evidenced by violence, by contempt for one's fellow citizens, and I might even add, by at times the very low level of humor in American society directed at various ethnic groups.

This pollution of our social environment is also manifest in the generation gap which we hear so much about.

I would like to take a moment to consider what is this generation gap. It consists of many things, some of which may be measured by time, but there is an aspect of the generation gap which is usually missed, and that is that it is in part a cultural gap, a gap between young Americans brought up in the 1940's, 1950's, and 1960's, and their parents who had been brought up 20 years earlier, sometimes in ghettos and sometimes in another nation of the world.

These youth are often contemptuous, because they do not understand. They are contemptuous of the values of the older generation and of the older generation for attempting to hold something which it values greatly and sometimes does not know how to apply its value system to youth.

Thus we have this falling away, and we have today a generation of youth engaged truly in a search for identity. This search for identity is most pathetically, most poignantly, expressed today in the Afro-American, or Negro search for identity, which manifests itself sometimes in racial violence, sometimes in complete contempt of authority and rules, and sometimes in direct attempts to change our entire structure of education.

A good example of this has been the hasty establishment of centers of black studies at various universities, not done so out of the careful consideration and deliberation of faculty councils, but in hasty response to acts of violence and threats of violence on the parts of students. And we have witnessed such centers being set up.

I hope many will be successful, but we already have some evidence of failures such as at Berkeley, at the University of California.

This might worry those who are proposing the present legislation, which does talk about setting up ethnic centers, study centers for ethnic heritage. What does the Berkeley experience have to do with the present bill?

I would say very little, because the Berkeley experience is based on a philosophy of politically based scholarship, while this bill is based on scholarship first, and the actions that young groups and older groups may take in the future should be based on scholarship and understanding first.

Scholarship will not follow action, but action will follow scholarship, and this, I think, is a very important point to make. This bill

does not address itself to any particular group in the American population, but to all the component peoples of America.

This bill does not try to set up political centers in universities, or in communities, but rather study centers, and establishes patterns for teaching and training of youth and of the teachers of youth, so that they will know how to deal objectively and sympathetically with the various trends that make up what Representative Pucinski has so eloquently described as the magnificent mosaic of American culture.

I would like to take up one or two points concerning this bill, which to me seem to be most important and where I feel I can offer some small contribution from my experience.

First of all, I should like to say that the present bill develops amidst the magnificent legislation of the previous Democratic administrations, in particular, but also from the administration of President Eisenhower, which brought into being the National Defense Education Act.

Under title VI of the National Defense Education Act for the first time Americans in large numbers through the universities were given opportunities to study deeply the cultures of countries throughout the world, and by coincidence many of those cultures were the very cultures of our important ethnic minorities.

Unfortunately, the National Defense Education Act is in grave jeopardy today: the title VI program seems to be about to be phased out, and that would, of course, have a very deleterious effect on studies which are so important.

The International Education Act, on the other hand, passed with much hope in 1965, has never been funded, and, thus, at a time when American responsibilities throughout the world to maintain peace—to have understanding of the very complex issues that future generations will face—at this very time when we have a position of great leadership, regardless of whether we have troops overseas or not; at this very time it seems that the legislation that makes possible the kind of education outgrowth needed is about to be lost.

The present bill is our only hope of having a future generation of Americans who will be world citizens, as well as good American citizens, and I should like to emphasize that we do have in existence now 96 federally supported centers in the United States which are built up, and which for years have created the kind of scholarship and resources, so that an ethnic heritage study centers bill could now have a fast effect.

The great difference I would like to point out between the existing centers—although many won't exist long if funding is not made available—and the proposed new centers is that the NDEA title VI centers have concentrated on the university level, on the higher levels of research and international exchange.

No previous legislation has really addressed itself to the problem of our lower school population. The present bill does precisely that. It brings all the riches that have been harvested over the past decade to the secondary school and primary school level, and brings it to the teachers.

Moreover, it corrects what I have considered to be a very serious imbalance, because for the first time it calls upon the various centers to

consult with the leaders of the various ethnic communities to make use of their wisdom, their feeling, and their experience.

It also calls upon us to use that right resource that we have developed over the past years, foreign students and scholars. What we are creating here, then, is the world of the future, dedicated to specific problems of educating our young; dedicated to the production of textbooks and materials for the youth to use.

Can this be done? Well, we have a little example of this already. I would like to submit to the committee two sets of volumes which were developed out of St. Louis a few years ago by the Webster Division of McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., called "Americans All."

These four volumes deal with the Latin Americans of the Southwest, the American Negro, our Oriental Americans—a volume which I had the honor to edit—and our citizens from the Caribbean.

Some may say, "Well, haven't we done a job?" I would like to point out that this has only scratched the surface. It is only the beginning, and it is only a poor example of what could really be done, if our whole country got down to work to create the kinds of materials that young Americans need.

Now, I don't want to take too much time in my opening statement. I would just like to add one more word on a very important subject.

I have asked myself and others have asked me, "What proof do you have that this proposed legislation would indeed create more loyal, more committed, American citizens?"

Indeed, since there has been no such act before, no legislation along these lines, it would seem that we don't have any basis upon which to make a prediction. Fortunately, I have had the privilege over the past 15 years—well, it is almost 20 years now—of going to the Republic of Singapore, which has a large, polyglot population of Chinese, Malays, Arabs, Jews, Europeans, Dutch, all kinds of people who lived together in a colony.

I knew Singapore when it was a colony; when the British said they could never pull out because the people would be at each other's throats; when race riots were rampant every year, and I remember the Chinese community asking for the right to teach something of the Chinese cultural heritage, to teach something of their language in the schools, which was generally denied, or if it was permitted, there was no funding for it.

In the 1950's there was no group of youth more alienated from their society, from their parents, and from their country than the Chinese youth of Singapore; by the hundreds of thousands they escaped into the jungles of Malaysia to join the Communist terrorists, or copped out, or went to Communist China. They were known as the young troublemakers.

When the Singaporeans received their independence from Britain, less than a decade ago—well, just a decade ago—it was said that Singapore would quickly become the 18th province of China, because there were a lot of Chinese there, and yet what did happen was that under the Republic Chinese, Malay, and the various languages and traditions of the population were encouraged to be taught in the schools.

The children were told of their heritages, and the result was that today there is no more loyal group of citizens, looking at their own country, than the young Chinese and Malay youth of Singapore.

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Why is this? The Chinese feel their country protects their heritage, and is proud of their background, and, therefore, they are loyal to that country. They are not loyal to China.

The same is true of Malays in Singapore. I have seen Malays studying Chinese, and last May, when hundreds of Chinese were massacred in areas to the north, peace reigned in that city.

These people live today in harmony and peace, and as various Secretaries of Defense, Secretaries of State, and I am sure the Vice President of the United States, Mr. Agnew, must report, Singapore is one of the bright spots for freedom, democracy, and intelligent progress in Asia today.

Singapore has had its ethnic studies centers. The result has been success, and I would say that here is an opportunity for Americans to learn something from our neighbors in Asia.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you very much, Dr. Spector.

Now, your formal statement will go at this point in the record.

(Statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF DR. STANLEY SPECTOR, DIRECTOR, EAST ASIAN LANGUAGE AND AREA CENTER, WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS, MO.

The Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers bill answers a long-standing need for a continuing and comprehensive program to achieve a basic national purpose. This purpose is stated in Section 901 of the present title as the achievement of "a more harmonious, patriotic and committed populace". In the past we have accepted a rather simplistic view of our nation as a "melting pot" into which heterogeneous elements from all quarters of the globe were thrown in unequal quantities and under widely varying circumstances, and we have had confidence that through the general process of education a type of "American stew" would somehow emerge. To some extent this assumption has been realized, for none of us can question that we have developed a society which despite wide divergence in national and ethnic background does share identifiable common values and a sharp sense of identity, especially in times of international danger and external threat.

There can be no doubt, however, that we are still far short of our goal. Millions of American citizens whose national, social or ethnic backgrounds differ considerably from the naively conceived Western European, or to be more specific, Anglo-Saxon, prototype ideal have suffered psychological, economic and cultural injury which has often resulted in poor adjustment to the national environment and only marginal participation in national efforts. The most obvious examples are Afro-Americans, American Indians, Eskimos, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and our Oriental Americans. But our population also includes substantial numbers of immigrants and descendants of immigrants from the Near East, and Eastern and Central Europe, who have also been frequently set apart because in physical appearance and cultural attributes they have not matched too well the traditional "American type". Furthermore, many of our immigrant groups have arrived on American shores as refugees from political oppression or economic disasters. In an alien world they have tended to cling to their fellows from "the old country" and have thus contributed to the "ghettoization" of our cities. The phenomenon of the ghetto must be understood as comprising two elements: 1) the exclusion of certain groups from certain environments (living districts, commercial areas, job opportunities, schools, social organizations), and 2) the desire of certain groups to maintain their previous national or ethnic identity in the face of the hostility or unfamiliarity of the narrowly conceived "American scene".

No ethnic or national group in America has really escaped some form of discrimination and hostility, and even today under the surface of American society lurk suspicion, resentment, contempt for one's fellow citizen, and even occasionally tendencies toward violence to the outsider. Let me hasten to say that such negative and destructive attitudes are not the dominant theme, and that there is every reason to believe that we have been making constant progress

over the years in achieving a sense of acceptance if not fellowship among the innumerable sub-groups and sub-cultures which comprise American society. Let me also add how welcome are the careful and objective studies being carried out by political officials, commissions, scholars and various agencies and groups committed to the improvement of the quality of American life and the elimination of violence and racial tension within our society.

Many factors help explain the improvement in attitudes which has come about, but I should like to point out that it coincides particularly with the awakening of America to the outside world during and after World War II. The great strides made in international and foreign area studies, particularly after the passage of the National Defense Education Act, with its provision for Language and Area Centers under Title VI, and with the implementation of the Fulbright Exchange Scholar Program, have transformed American colleges and universities and produced a more sophisticated generation of American students and teachers than we have ever known before. Simultaneously, the fields of anthropology, sociology and psychology have gained new importance on the academic scene. These social sciences have provided a solid foundation for the reevaluation of human interrelationships and provided a rational basis for a sympathetic and empathetic view of men of every race and society. Since the Language and Area Centers concentrated on the "critical" languages, which were mainly represented by the developing areas of Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Latin America, Asia and Africa, their focus of concern coincided with areas that have produced some of the most important and neglected minorities within the American population. The University and its scholars have been the single most important factor in making available to the American people a new view of the "uncommon" cultures. They have studied with objectivity and respect the cultures of peoples who themselves were hardly able to articulate or gain a hearing for their own rich traditions.

Today Chinese is a meaningful language to thousands of young Americans, where formerly it was thought of as a type of pidgin English uttered by laundrymen, waiters and movie detectives or villains. Interestingly enough, among the major beneficiaries of this post-war attention to Chinese have been the members of our Chinese-American communities, who, because they were largely of Cantonese extraction, had no links with the modern National Language of China. Today the members of these communities have a new pride in themselves and a new pride in America, a country which studies *their* national language of heritage, and which elevates *their* heritage to the status of major elements in the college and university curriculum. The same is true of Japanese, Russian, Polish and dozens of other languages which were formerly known only in the streets and in community households and associations.

As an educator who has specialized in research and teaching Chinese and Japanese not only at colleges and universities, but also has had the privilege to develop programs at the secondary school level as well, I cannot stress strongly enough the beneficial results of the National Defense Education Act. My only regret is that at present Title VI (Language and Area Centers) for what seems to most specialists in the field to be inexplicable reasons, may be doomed to extinction, and that the International Education Act, which promised so much, has never been funded. For both Acts laid the groundwork for a new education consistent with the responsibilities of the United States abroad and with our awakened concern for the communities and ethnic groups within our own society. Yet when all this has been said, it is still true that previous legislation by and large has neglected the secondary and primary schools. Provision was made for the training of secondary school teachers, principally in the social sciences at Institutes and in Seminars overseas, and these too have brought large rewards to our schools. But no directed effort has yet been made to provide for our school-children, materials or opportunities to study their own ethnic heritage or those of their schoolmates.

In this sense the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers carry forward and bring to new levels the great work of the National Defense Education Act, the Fulbright Exchange Program and the (as yet unimplemented) International Education Act.

Some of the most significant features of the proposed legislation, which carries it far beyond the existing programs are 1) it expands the range of cultures studied to include *all* cultures represented significantly in American society, including those of Europe; 2) it specifies the teaching of languages at the secondary and primary school levels; 3) it calls into consultation representatives of the ethnic communities within the country; 4) it would draw upon our rich resources

in foreign scholars and students; 5) it requires concrete, useful results—text-books and materials for school use; 6) it makes possible the inclusion of all disciplines and multi-disciplinary approaches in research and presentation; 7) it provides clearly for the training of teachers in the field of ethnic studies; 8) it recognizes the paramount role of the colleges and universities in developing materials and training personnel; 9) it helps cover cost of equipment; and 10) it helps support individuals undergoing training.

When one considers how much was accomplished under Title VI of the National Defense Education Act, where the University contributions generally exceeded the Federal contribution by as much as 10 to 1 we can anticipate that the funding proposed (under Sec. 905) for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, will probably yield \$100,000,000 in community and university funds; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, a sum as high as \$150,000,000 to \$200,000,000.

The above estimates are based on my own experience as Director of the NDEA Language and Area Center (Title VI) at Washington University, St. Louis.

Thus, although the funding proposed in the present Title is obviously very modest considering the magnitude of the task proposed, if a matching fund formula (as was the case with Title VI, NDEA) is used the funds actually applied to the proposed Centers will in all probability be ample.

Perhaps the most important question which must be answered concerning the Ethnic Heritage Studies Center Bill is whether or not it is likely to accomplish its principal purposes. What experience do we have to draw upon and what does this experience indicate? I have already alluded to the great success of certain previous legislation in bringing about greater understanding of the heritage of *some* of our ethnic groups, although this was not the object of those particular legislative acts. My experience in dealing with Chinese-Americans and Japanese-Americans over a period of 25 years convinces me that an understanding of their heritage, a knowledge that this heritage is honored in our schools and in the proposed National Centers, and a sense that their particular heritage is one of many such heritages which we treasure, will give the young American greater pride in himself, his family, and his community, a greater sense of security and a greater devotion to his fellow Americans who are thus recognizing and honoring him. I have seen the glow of pride in the eyes of young American-Chinese students in high schools and colleges when they learn that their ancestral language will be taught in their school. I have seen them look with wonder at their non-Chinese-American teacher as he teaches them the first sounds of Chinese. I have had many scores of Chinese-American students enter my classes at the university to find out *who they are and what they are*.

Let me cite the experience of the Republic of Singapore, in which I have had the pleasure and honor to carry out research over a period extending back to the early 1950's, when it was still a British colony. Under the colonial system, Chinese was scarcely taught in the publicly-supported schools. Chinese who wished to study their traditional language and culture had to enter expensive private schools, and rarely could qualify for entrance into the British-oriented University of Malaya. By the mid-1950's everyone agreed that the young Chinese of Singapore were largely disaffected: they rioted, they refused military service, they even cooperated with terrorists in the jungles or else slipped back to Communist China for education in revolution. The government responded by clamping down further on "Chinese education", and by 1957-58 most commentators thought that Chinese youths certainly would never give allegiance to the new State of Malaysia or City of Singapore. But after 1959, when the present government was installed by election, and the study of Chinese was not only legalized, but made available to all, and the Chinese language was made one of the four official languages of the country, a wonderful thing happened. The youth, who were thought to be hopelessly lost, rallied to the new country and society. In the years of trial and tribulation which followed, they came to identify themselves ever more closely with the new society and the new Republic of Singapore. They served—and serve—proudly in its military forces, they willingly learn English, and Malay, as well as Chinese, and today if you ask a youth of Chinese ancestry in Singapore what he is—barely 10 years after the new language policy and cultural program was inaugurated—he will say: "I am a Singaporean".

How did this transformation take place? The youth realized that it was Singapore which was proud of their heritage; it was Singapore which guarded it; it was fellow citizens of Malay, Indian, British, Eurasian and Jewish stock, who paid for *their* Chinese education. In turn they were willing to support

their fellow citizens of every race and religion to study their own language and culture. Thus youth of Singapore today provide a fine example of patriotism, self-confidence and tolerance, in contrast with Chinese youth in many surrounding areas who feel neglected, alienated, and spurned, who see themselves second-class citizens (even when they are not really so) in a country which can never command their loyalty so long as it denies their heritage. They resent partaking in the culture of the national majority, but must do so in order to survive. By contrast, in Singapore, young Chinese-Singaporeans are glad to study the languages and cultures of their fellow-citizens. Last summer I saw the results of this. At the Nanyang (Chinese) University I was introduced to a class, the first class, of Malay students who were studying Chinese. Despite the fact that only three months earlier Malays and Chinese in Malaysia (where the situation for Chinese residents is quite different from that in Singapore) had engaged in a series of bloody riots which may have cost as many as one thousand lives, these Malays had friendly and positive attitudes toward their Chinese fellow-students and teachers, who responded to them in similar fashion. In fact some of the most assiduous researchers on Malay language and culture today are Singapore-Chinese.

In my experience at St. Louis, I have gone into city schools which were fully integrated and been able to interest a fair number of Black students in studying Chinese. These students have reported that their experience with the Chinese language and Chinese culture has given them a new and better view of themselves. They have felt that our interest in them reflected eventual career possibilities for them in the diplomatic corps and that through their study of the Chinese heritage they could assume a normal and prestigious position in the American community—as indeed they will! At the same time, young white Americans and Chinese-Americans have been greatly impressed by Negro interest in the the Orient, and the willingness of Negro students to engage in the arduous task of learning the Chinese language. Today several young Black scholars at my university are on their road to the Ph.D. in Chinese and Japanese where only a few years ago many of my colleagues questioned my judgment if not my sanity and integrity in pushing the study of Oriental languages among students regardless of their race, or ethnic background.

Today the Chinese community of St. Louis, a small one, perhaps, but all the more significant because it exists spread throughout the city and not in any single quarter of it, is proud of the role Chinese Studies play at our University and watches with cooperative interest the progress of our language programs in the secondary schools. Parents constantly call my office to inquire when and where their children, who know no Chinese and little about the culture of China, can enroll for courses, and it makes little difference to them whether their children are six, sixteen or twenty-six! Because of such activities, our University students of every background are welcome at the meetings of our Chinese Club. In fact during this very week it was the principally white students at our Chinese Department who presented the annual play for the Chinese community at their Chinese New Year's celebration. This kind of inter-ethnic fellowship is what makes our nation strong, and cements our population in common loyalty and pride.

Turning to a field in which I am less qualified to speak but which concerns me deeply as a citizen and educator, I would like to remark briefly on a phenomenon which has disturbed me deeply during the past three or four years. I refer to the so-called "Polish joke". How often I have wondered how I would feel if such jokes about my own ethnic group were to become current on campuses and popular TV shows, and the thought has made me shudder. I cannot help but feel that we have done, are doing vast psychological damage to thousands of our finest youngsters who are the victims of traditions which should have been left behind in our countries of origin (or those of our ancestors). I do not imagine that the tellers of such jokes are conscious of the fact that they are merely carrying forth "old country" feuds which are either best forgotten, or else should be studied and analyzed objectively by scholars and then put to rest. I realize that there are many in this country who feel that ethnic jokes are an eternal and inevitable, perhaps even desirable part of our culture. But no Irishman who knows the history of his people either in Ireland or America could agree, nor could any Negro, nor Jew, nor Mexican. Nor can our Japanese and Chinese afford to laugh. For when we victimize our fellow citizens on ethnic grounds we are reliving our own victimization or paving way for it. This is not to say that each ethnic group does not have its tradition of humor which can and should be shared, and that there is not much harmless humor in the relationships and misunder-

standings which often have occurred among our citizens of different background. But the unwitting yet nevertheless vicious assaults upon the intelligence and attributes of any sub-group in America is not only inexcusable, it is also avoidable.

The answer lies in the thorough education of our young people. By thorough education I mean not merely the enunciation of such general principles as: "All men are created equal", or "Each nationality played its role in the development of our great country", but rather the detailed and specific study of many of our ethnic groups, their history, their cultural heritage and their values. For this we need excellent collections of textbooks at several levels, supplementary readings for depth, pictorial and audio-visual materials—especially films and video tapes, and above all teachers who are skilled and knowledgeable. Such skill and knowledge cannot be assumed, but must enter into the general training of teachers. This in turn demands the training of specialists to teach these teachers. This is as important to clearing the moral and psychological environment of our nation as the teaching of ecological ethics is to clearing our water and air.

Having gone to some length to elaborate upon the importance of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Center Title and attempted to present evidence from my experience in the U.S. and abroad in favor of the adoption of this Title, I should like to conclude by suggesting some considerations which may maximize the effectiveness of the proposed legislation:

(1) The desirability of locating the Centers on university campuses, where there is ready access to library facilities, ongoing language and area programs, foreign scholars and foreign students. Universities accepting Center contracts should present evidence of how they intend to consult and draw upon representatives of the ethnic group whose history, culture and language they are studying and for which they are preparing materials.

(2) The utmost care must be taken, and this can best be done in a University environment, to ensure that such studies do not become involved in the politics of the country of ethnic origin or of the community or of the American nation.

(3) Ethnic Heritage Study Centers should not be conceived of either in terms of single disciplines but should be multi-disciplinary in every instance, and should not be conceived of as being the responsibility of any single institution. Rather it would be desirable that one institution would become the prime contractor on behalf of a *consortium* of institutions which should include several universities or colleges, high schools and community groups (i.e. representatives from the Chinese communities of San Francisco, and New York and Chicago, for instance). This will assure a representative quality of work and prevent parochialism while making possible far greater resources than any single community or institution or agency can command. Competitive plans should be sought from various institutions and the Commissioner of Education could then select the most suitable one.

(4) Because there are so many identifiable ethnic groups in the United States, it would be incumbent upon those administering the Title to suggest groupings based on historical and social interrelationships of the ethnic groups. Otherwise the number of potential Centers would become so large that any realistic funding would be out of the question.

Thus I would suggest that sec. 903, line 9 should be changed to read "groups" instead of "group", and line 11 to read "chose ethnic groups" instead of "that ethnic group".

Section 902. Similarly should be altered to make lines 25 (p. 2) and line 1 (p. 3) read: "Each such center shall carry on activities related to a historical or regional group of cultures".

Should my recommendation that Centers be based on consortia of institutions and agencies be acceptable, it is apparent that various members of the consortium could devote special and even sole emphasis to particular ethnic groups. Unless this or some similar formula is adopted, it is difficult to conceive of the establishment of truly viable Centers. Innumerable groups will come forward with strong and loud claims for identification as a special, distinct ethnic group. The term *ethnic* itself will be challenged and pose innumerable technical and political problems, for within each ethnic group there are numerous potential sub-groups. Wording which indicates the desire to include ethnic groups within larger units will make possible the carrying out of the program with least friction, little arbitrariness, and reasonable economy while in no way violating the spirit and letter of the proposed Title.

(5) My testimony above provides ample evidence of the importance of continuing Title VI of the National Defense Education Act, to prevent the elim-

ination of the Language and Area Centers which have provided and must continue to provide the knowledge and talent necessary for successful implementation of the present Title. Funding of the International Education Act would for the same reason claim high priority if we are to achieve the purposes of the present Title to the fullest extent.

(6) The *Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act* not only is likely to achieve the laudable purposes stated in Sec. 901, but it will also serve as notice to the entire world of the friendly and concerned interest of the American people for peoples of every race, creed and color throughout the world.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you for your statement. I think the work that has been started under the NDEA title VI can certainly serve as an excellent basis for continuity in this particular program.

But as you quite properly pointed out, the main thrust of this legislation is to develop facilities which will develop learning material. We have a tremendous number of teachers who inquire about the availability of material on the various ethnic groups in their particular communities, and I think this is the main thrust of this legislation.

I have questions, but I thought we would now go on to Dr. Hamp, who is the director of the Center on Slavic and Balkan Studies at the University of Chicago.

It is really a privilege to have you here, Dr. Hamp. We are familiar with the excellent work that you and your institute are doing at the university, and you have been in the forefront in this field. It is precisely institutions such as yours that we have in mind as we try to develop this bill.

So, Dr. Hamp, we will proceed with your statement any way you wish. You can either read your statement or proceed in any manner you wish. We are most grateful to you for taking time from your very busy schedule to be here with us today for this testimony.

Dr. HAMP. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me say it is a great pleasure to be here to add what little I might be able to do, what I feel is an enormously welcome move in a long-overdue direction on the national scene in the legislation which is proposed in such imaginative fashion by you and your colleagues, Mr. Chairman.

Perhaps first I might very briefly characterize myself by way of pointing out what facts might be pertinent to judgments I presume to bring to bear on these questions.

I am at present director of the Center for Slavic and Balkan Studies at the University of Chicago, a center which essentially had its composition, so far as staffing and faculty goes, and library resources, before the creation of such centers under the National Defense Education Act, and which was recognized by that act as a center for such studies.

The area of the world with which we are involved is roughly what you would call Eastern Europe. The languages and surrounding cultures that we are occupied with include, starting from the south and moving up, Greek, Albanian, Makedonski, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Bulgarian, Romanian, Czech, and Polish, plus some other minority nonnational languages of those areas.

I tend to name these entities by their languages, probably for the simple accident that I myself am by profession a linguist, but like any linguist interested in an area, I have a very strong interest in the surrounding cultures and everything that pertains to them.

As a linguist, I participate in such organizations as the Linguistic Society of America, the Modern Language Association, also the American Anthropological Association, since some of my linguistic interests are also characterized as anthropological.

I have had occasion to work overseas in most—practically all—of these Eastern European areas. I might say at this point that many of these nations are themselves highly interesting multiethnic areas, and therefore offer us lessons in themselves on which we can draw for purposes of understanding more sensitively our own American national scene.

I have also worked rather extensively with the Celtic groups of the British Isles and France, which are again ethnic groups with interesting lessons for us; and with a certain number of American Indian groups within our own borders, where I happen to have some linguistic interests also.

From my own linguistic work, and from the observation of the work of my colleagues in other disciplines in area studies, it is quite clear to me that the proposed legislation makes excellent sense. It is not only excellently timed, it is a piece of great wisdom and insight and perspicacity into the needs of our society that such legislation should be suggested now, at this point in our history.

Since the text of my statement apparently arrived in the post only this morning, I will permit myself to summarize it at a slightly greater length than I had originally intended, though I trust that I can leave it to those interested to read the prose, a text which I compressed as much as I possibly could, so as not to impose on your time.

First of all, I should like to state emphatically that we do not at present have anything that would implement such a program in our educational fabric, and that such a program, I think, is not only intuitively a good thing, but that this can be supported by observations from the technical disciplines which study cultures and societies and their languages, such as I have just alluded to.

Speaking specifically, there has been a great deal of knowledge that applies to such ethnic heritage studies available to us for a long time, but most of that knowledge has been rather safely tucked away in the inaccessible pages of learned journals, or it has been the subject of relatively advanced graduate studies in universities and other such bodies.

The information has never been able to be disseminated in a form that can be used by most Americans broadly. Even if that information were readily available, at present there is insufficient manpower to carry out this type of dissemination on any broad scale.

We do not have people in the public schools who are adequately trained in these matters so as to incorporate such material sensitively in a fashion that can be assimilated for the common good.

One might ask, "Is this type of knowledge interesting to the public at large? Is it really of worth?"

Although there have been impressive stirrings in our social fabric in recent years which show that the point is appreciated intuitively, it is still insufficiently realized by the general public on an intellectual level, that every culture has its own heritage on which it may draw, and that each culture is as rich as every other.

This simple fact was demonstrated a long time ago by eminent scholars, particularly in the anthropological profession. They saw this

clearly by studying the cultures of peoples who were thought of as exotic, who had no written tradition, people that we often call aborigines. It is found, for example, that the documented recipe book for the cuisine of the Kwakiutl Indians in British Columbia can run, when written out, to hundreds of pages. Their own particular art forms are displayed prominently in museums that have the taste to see such matters.

There are literally thousands of cultures the world over, each with its own beautiful and magnificent heritage, however unwritten, however unsung it may be.

It seems, then, rather surprising that the many cultures with long written traditions, longer, I may say, than our own English language tradition, which have been brought by the movement of peoples to this country earlier in our history—it is surprising that those cultures which actually can be studied and are studied by some could be so ignored, could be in fact so little prized for so long. We have, then, a great deal to learn, all of us, and our ignorance is only that much more abysmal so long as we persevere in this species of neglect.

Now, there are at least a few reasons why this neglect has persisted, and certain of them are of a purely practical order. Our educational system itself, as I have mentioned before, does not now provide any clear vehicle for this. I point that fact out. I say nothing more about it. I leave it to my colleagues who specialize in such matters of education to explore the reasons and the remedies in this matter.

But, also, the main bearers of these ethnic heritages that came to the United States of America, even if they were conscious in an overt way of their own tradition, were so busy making themselves Americans and so taken up in the tasks of daily life, looking after their family and children, looking to their own obligations, that they scarcely had time for what then seemed a luxury. These new Americans looked to the things that needed to be done first, and very often, understandably, this did not mean what seemed to them to be a retrospective look at the intellectual process of appreciating their cultural heritage.

In this fashion, it is only more recently that there has been an opportunity to, so to speak, pause and reflect on these riches; but this does not deny the existence and the importance of those riches.

On the other hand, in an earlier day, scholars could not themselves travel to places they were occupied with in their studies. Many scholars were obliged to work with their materials through books, at a distance, perhaps spending their entire life in this country. They were not nearly so vividly aware of the milieu of their specialty as is possible today. They did not have the means that we have had more recently in order to study these cultural heritages with the adequacy that we may now hope to reach. Therefore our American scholarship of an earlier day could be characterized frankly, in this respect, as isolated.

But as scholars we know, on the other hand, that there is only one properly humanistic outlook to learning and to the transmission of learning, and that must take as its proposition that all mankind is our proper province of study. A great Roman poet once remarked on this centuries ago, and it is as true today as it was then. We must look to the cultural heritages of all men, not just those of some men. It therefore seems rather silly if we reflect that most of the content of our own broadly disseminated academic tradition, that is, the tradition that

has come down to us through most of our public school learning, is restricted very sharply to a brief bow to three-quarters or more of the world. One hears at some point about ancient Rome and Greece, a bit about Egypt, a bit about China and India. Then after that what one hears about is a solid diet of largely northwestern Europe. And only parts of that, only phases of it, without getting down to the grassroots; and a few little smidgens about what happened to certain of these strains of cultural heritage after they reached this country.

When one reads passages of American history, it deals in passing with this; but there is nearly nothing about the particularities of the traditions that these people brought on their arrival here. Largely what we hear about is what we imagine that these new Americans learned—or gained, as one often tends to say—after their arrival here, presumably from other people; from other cultural heritages, already here; and those in turn not completely specified. Therefore, the proper aims of humanistic study have clearly not been carried out in any appropriate sense in our educational system.

Now, how can one carry out the type of program that such legislation would envision? It happens that today we have a new cadre of scholars and a new supply of scholarship that has been developed over the last couple of decades at most, that has begun to get into a position to carry out such programs of scholarship, learning and transmission. I refer to the specialists in language and area studies that have grown enormously in this last couple of decades and most particularly in the last decade. This growth has been made possible very largely because of the farsighted acts of Congress that have lent support to the cultivation of programs in such language and area studies, most notably the programs under the National Defense Education Act, title VI.

In this fashion, scholars have finally been able to reach some level of sophistication to train and develop people, and to develop teaching materials on a scale of magnitude that is simply incomprehensible from the point of view of three or four or five decades ago.

No one at that time in this country on the academic scene would have dreamt that we would have students who could handle materials, books, periodicals, artifacts, objects of art with ease and sensitivity in terms of the native cultures of various far-off places—East Europe, South Asia, East Asia, Latin America, and so on—and who also would be able to speak these languages to some degree of proficiency. People at that time would even have been astounded if a professor who devoted himself to the history, let us say, of an East European country could actually speak that language. The normal situation then, I must impress on you, was that if a professor dealt with the history of some seemingly exotic culture, he dealt with it through materials written in what we usually characterize as the major languages of scholarship—English, French, German, perhaps some Italian, perhaps some Spanish, usually never Russian in those days.

He not only dealt with things through secondary languages that way; if he was able to get at the source materials, he hobbled with a dictionary through Modern Greek, Polish, Czech, Bulgarian. He probably never glanced at a document in Bengali if he dealt with matters of India. Almost nobody read Chinese. We had classical scholars who could read Ancient Greek, but almost no classical scholar ever dreamt

of learning Modern Greek, other than to supervise the men digging in his excavation for ancient objects in Greece.

We were a country, then, essentially of monoglots, as a nation of academics, and these were, after all, the only people who could implement studies of this sort broadly.

Now, through the development of language and area studies, particularly under NDEA, we have reached a stage where the main scholars occupied with such matters use the languages and the direct materials of those cultures and those heritages as a matter of routine. We expect our students not merely to get a smattering, but automatically to get a command of at least one of the major languages in the areas of competence in which he is a candidate.

This is a basis that has grown amongst us only very recently, and this is an indispensable basis for such a program of study and of educational opportunity as the proposed legislation would envisage.

Now, also—and I will not enlarge on this since it does not lie within my own particular specialties—a new climate of society has swept away much of our old provincialism, much of our old monochrome, much of our old basis for the neglect of what I have tried to point out should have been the obvious. We are, as your chairman has so eloquently put it, a rich and magnificent mosaic. We are not a flat gray monotone. Therefore, while at one time some people might have thought it a virtue to avoid reference to ethnic background in the interests of pooling our identity in the national fabric, today we realize that by recognizing ethnicity we recognize an important component of the true wealth that we really have.

I have said that under NDEA and related enterprises we have brought ourselves into a position of preparedness for some of the requisite steps that the proposed legislation would presuppose. But the important point about this legislation is the fact that it would in no way duplicate. What it does rather is to complement in a crucial and critical fashion what we have been able to gain so far.

What we have gained so far is indispensable, and we must continue to work along the same lines that NDEA, title VI, has made possible in order to consolidate these gains and to complete the unfinished task. To stop that enterprise would be folly, because it would sweep away all the grounding for the scholarship on which this kind of knowledge in many ways depends. For this reason alone, it would be a catastrophic loss, in the long view, to allow the NDEA to lapse.

But the scholarship and training programs which have been fostered under NDEA are, quite properly, directed essentially at the more theoretical levels of learning. They are directed largely to graduate learning, which in turn can be channeled readily into undergraduate college and university learning. But very little of this yield exists right now in a form which can be conveyed to Americans at large in the public schools. What we need is something that will implement that goal, and the legislation that is proposed would in admirable fashion provide such complementation to existing language and area programs that should not be allowed by oversight to lapse.

Let me then make some points very briefly: First of all, we can say on formal grounds, supported by a century or more of diligent American scholarship, as well as scholarship elsewhere in the world, that knowledge of the sort that is envisaged under the rubric of ethnic

heritage studies is, indeed, eminently valid, and that is emphatically should be disseminated as a humanizing vehicle as broadly as possible throughout our society.

In fact, we are already overdue in recognizing this truth.

Secondly, our academic community today is prepared to act upon such encouragement in a way and with an effectiveness that it couldn't have aspired to 20 years ago.

Thirdly, the bearers of these ethnic traditions who live amongst us have every reasonable right to have such knowledge readily available to them for their own intellectual stimulation and for their own edification—as a means to their own recognition of what they themselves so eminently are; namely, interesting and important segments of the human community at large.

Fourthly, all other segments of our society stand enormously to gain in the type of broadening of view that comes from a reflective inspection of aspects of other cultures and traditions. Moreover, an understanding of the past of other cultures contributes greatly to an understanding of the present of nations with which we must today live much more closely in a contracting world.

In this fashion, not only would the bearers of a given tradition benefit, but the bearers of all other traditions would benefit mutually. This is a result we have always thought desirable in the educational scene—something which in the past has been called by the noble phrase “liberal education.” It is, again, simply neglect and oversight, it seems to me, that this aspect of our understanding of a liberal education has never tackled this sector of knowledge at all.

Fifth, particularly for those tasks of learning the languages and certain other aspects of those cultures we may also tap, through such a program, a very valuable source of wealth for our further national intellectual growth: It is very likely that the bearers of these traditions themselves will bring forward talented members of their own groups who will be encouraged to further study; and many of these people will be in a position much more aptly and efficiently to gather this knowledge and to transmit it through the intellectual community than might other experts—I might say, such as myself—who must learn to deal with matters that they did not come by through their own heritage. It is a long and exacting process to learn on your own many of these things, and you may never learn them so efficiently, so well as might a person who has in effect a great headstart and a strong motivation from a very early point, especially if that motivation is treated sensitively. Moreover, such a person may have a valuable intuitive grasp that is hard to excel.

Therefore, we stand to gain substantially in our total national supply and store of expert knowledge in this respect.

Sixth, it is urgent that this matter come up now and be acted on promptly. These traditions must be tapped soon, or they will get even more submerged than for a long time they threatened to be. Any kind of delay only serves to contribute to the sort of massive leveling that can easily take place over time. Therefore, I say, lest we lose this marvelous opportunity: Let us act, and act now.

Thank you.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you very much, Mr. Hamp. Of course, your statement will go in the record in its entirety at this point.

(Statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF DR. ERIC HAMP, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR SLAVIC AND BALKAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

I wish to state that activities which the proposed bill would stimulate are not currently served in our educational system and in our normally available cultural resources as these institutions are currently constituted; and that the ends at which such activities would aim are indeed in themselves desirable. Specifically, there is much knowledge concerning the heritage of ethnic cultures that has long been available to specialized scholars, or has been recently developed in an ever expanding and deepening scholarship, that is not generally available outside the range of specialized scholarly media. Furthermore, for such information of this character that is available in broadly disseminated form there is little or no provision for the incorporation of such knowledge into normal school curricula. Even if such incorporation were authorized tomorrow, there is at present insufficient personnel to carry out such a program on a broad basis.

There has long been an impressive and striking imbalance in our country between what is generally known and what is in principle knowable about the rich cultural past of our total population. Every culture of course has its own heritage to draw on, and each is as rich as the other in its own way. This simple fact has been demonstrated long since by anthropologists, since it was brought home especially forcefully to them in studying the cultures of little known peoples many of whom possessed no written tradition as a means of handling their accumulated cultural store down through generations. How much more obvious then must it be that the accumulated store of tradition handed down in a culture with the arts of writing and other graphic means should be proportionately immensely more accessible to the educated world at large. The fact that we do not draw regularly on these riches can mean only that we have not yet learned how to use them, that we do not yet have the trained manpower to use them, or that we are somehow callously indifferent to the benefits to be derived.

There are at least a couple of senses in which we have not yet learned to draw on these riches. It is clear that our educational system, as presently constituted, makes little provision for this type of learning. Just now this happens and just how it could be remedied lies beyond my own competence, and I defer on this aspect to my colleagues in the field of education. It is easy, however, to see at least two of the sources which have conspired in our society to facilitate this oversight. First, those persons who might most naturally have taken an interest in such matters, who might have most vividly called them to the attention of others, and who already had a head start in such learning were the people who came to this country from the seats of those cultures and their immediate children. But these good people were initially much too busy with the necessities of living and with becoming Americans to be able to spend much time on what seemed to be a luxury. After all, how were they to judge that other people did not possess similar knowledge and that in some respects they were a valuable repository of unique tradition? On the other hand, scholars who might reasonably have been occupied with such interests did not have nearly the range of opportunity several decades ago that they have had in more recent times. Before the days of rapid travel it was a relatively rare thing for many a respectable scholar to be able to travel to the other side of the ocean and to experience the culture which he studied directly. In fact, many an important culture doubtless lay unattended to by American scholarship because of the lack of such opportunities. A growing young country was quite naturally encouraged to look within its own borders for problems to solve and to attend rather little to the concerns of lands far away that were scarcely ever seen.

As we so well know the events of recent decades have changed all that. In a practical and urgent sense we are today concerned with all manner of matters far and near. This practical result merely emphasizes a general point of educational principle that has always been true, and has been well known since the words of a great Roman poet at least: if education is to be properly humanistic as it must, then all mankind must be our province of study. If we seriously overlook any part of it we are the losers, and we compound the loss which we hand on to future generations.

Only within the past decade or two has it become really possible for our academic community to generate the tools and experience necessary to study these various cultures and traditions in a serious fashion, and to give up the provincial

habit of former days that treated such learning as a species of exoticism or the idle collection of curiosities. Particularly during the past decade, under the impetus of the acts of Congress that have implemented support for language and area studies we have been able to reach a level of sophistication and to train and develop manpower, knowledge, and teaching materials that can begin to grapple with these problems. In this sense we are now in a position to realize and hope to do something about matters of neglect of which we formerly were all too often not even aware.

Meantime in the new climate of society the bearers of these cultural traditions amongst us have had the opportunity to become aware of the real worth of this intellectual asset.

For these reasons the following points may be made briefly: (1) The general validity of such knowledge and its wide dissemination as a humanizing vehicle is apparent. In fact it long ago should have been taken as axiomatic. (2) Our academic community, with the immensely valuable support of NDEA and other such mechanisms, is in a position today, and should increasingly be so, to play a significant role in developing appropriate programs growing out of the proposed bill. (3) The bearers of these ethnic traditions amongst us have every reasonable right to have such knowledge available for their own intellectual stimulation. (4) Other segments of our society stand to gain significantly from the consequent broadening of view. (5) For certain tasks, particularly those of learning the languages the bearers of these ethnic heritages could often more aptly and efficiently be trained as experts than those of us who do not start with this advantage. (6) It is urgent that these traditions be tapped and not be lost by submergence in a massive levelling that can easily take place over time. The time is ripe, and the time is now.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I was pleased to see you emphasize that every culture has its rich cultural past, and you talk about the knowable information that we need of our own population. And, as Dr. Spector has said before you, it is really amazing at the very narrow, narrow knowledge that most Americans have about themselves.

I was certainly impressed the other day when Secretary of State Rogers visited Africa, addressed a group of African leaders, and pointed out that between 10 and 12 percent of the American population has antecedents in many of the African countries that he was visiting. And yet how many Americans have the faintest knowledge of the tremendously rich history of those countries, history that precedes our own history as a Nation?

So it does seem to me that until we Americans, all of us, start getting to know more about ourselves, we are going to have problems.

I can't help but feel that if it is in the framework of this legislation we can set up, ethnic study centers on the nonwhite population of this country, we can start for the first time making some contribution toward all of us understanding the minority groups of this country. With understanding, of course, comes the respect that they are certainly entitled to.

So I was happy to see you use the term "total population," because this is the problem, again.

Dr. Greene, both Congressman Hawkins and I have read your excellent statement, which, of course, will go in the record in its entirety. And perhaps you would like to briefly summarize it, because I do want to save some time for questioning of you and your colleagues.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF VICTOR GREENE, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY

It would be helpful, Mr. Chairman, for you and the Committee members to first identify myself for I am giving testimony here in several capacities. First, I am an associate professor of American history at Kansas State University with a

special interest in nationality and racial history. My research and publications have concerned the immigrants from Eastern Europe, particularly the Poles. In addition I am the Executive Secretary of the Immigration History Group, an international society of about 400 scholars who seek to promote ethnic studies. Finally, I am also editor of the Group's organ, the *Immigration History Newsletter*, copies of which I would like to place in the record.

With that introduction I wish to open my remarks by offering my enthusiastic support for your ethnic heritage center bill. My reasons are several but above all is the favorable effect it will have on our youth. Such Federal assistance for such a project will go far to dispel the continuing alienation of our young people. My experience with students in colleges demonstrates that not only does the hypocrisy of authority, the issues of racism and war disturb them but also a significant number, those of minority background, suffer from another psychological malaise. These descendants of Slavic, Italian, and Jewish immigrants have an identity crisis of their own, similar to though less intense than that of Blacks. As a historian, I diagnose their insecurity as due to an ignorance of their own group's past. They either have no knowledge of their place in history or at best a fanciful and distorted impression of it. Your ethnic heritage center proposal will restore the self-confidence they need in their own family tradition.

I will admit that such a program in greater self knowledge may lead to an exaggerated pride in one's forebears, what sociologists call filiofetism. However, in his present psychological condition the minority adolescent needs a more accurate awareness of his sub-culture's role in American society. As a result he will gain considerable self-assurance from seeing his elders in a more realistic cultural and historical setting. If I may be allowed to, I would like to add to the record a 1966 article I published on this malady in *Slovakia* entitled, "Sons of 'Hunkies'; Men With No Past."

Clearly until very recently scholars are in great part to blame for ignoring the pluralistic nature of our society and I would like to briefly account for this oversight because it demonstrates the need for support in this area now. In the nineteenth century the function of historians was to encourage nationalism and national loyalty. So American writers not only stressed the homogeneity of this nation based upon Anglo-American origins but also concentrated on national politics and leaders. Social movements, including immigration, were no part of the written American story until the mid-1920's. When academicians then finally turned their attention to our ethnically diverse culture, they theorized that such pluralism was of little importance. The nation was really a melting pot which had assimilated ethnic differences. The unorganized and inaccessible nature of source materials along with the reluctance of learning a foreign language convinced scholars that ethnic persistence was best left unexplored.

Some did write about diversity but unfortunately most were non-professional authors, group members themselves, antiquarians, journalists, and writers who produced a very self-conscious literature to justify their place in American life. The results were artificial studies which held little appeal for the alien masses. It really meant little to a Polish steelworker's family that Kosciuszko was Washington's comrade-in-arms. Most ethnic authors spoke about the 'contributions' of personalities and few about the achievement of the ordinary immigrant, how he built his community, his church, his press, and his social institutions. Thus one can understand why the present generation of college age ethnics have a guilty complex imagining their forebears as critics did, poor, uneducated, simple docile laborers.

Fortunately a late renaissance of interest is already correcting this distorted picture of nationality life in America. The Black struggle for equality is partly responsible for it has focused national attention on ethnic loyalty and the academic community only now is recognizing its previously neglected investigations. However, this recognition of ethnic studies requires additional encouragement for what we know about our non-English speaking sub-cultures is still very inadequate.

One sign of the renewed enthusiasm for ethnic research among scholars is the formation of our Immigration History Group in 1963. But its development has been rather slow for it was only in 1968 that I decided the society ought to have some formal communication, the *Newsletter*. The publication now serves as a clearinghouse of information of research and instruction not only for the membership but also for the several ethnic historical associations and pertinent collegiate institutes. In the last few years three such ethnic study centers have emerged on campuses, the University of Minnesota's Center for Immigration

Studies, Brooklyn College's Center for Migration Studies, and Sonoma State College's curriculum in ethnic studies in California.

The wide geographical response to the idea of diversity on the public level is also an indication of renewed interest. In the East the American Jewish Committee held conferences on Ethnic America in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago which revealed to social workers the continued ethnic ties among the working lower class. Clearly the outcome of these meetings was to further substantiate the conclusions of Daniel Moynihan and Nathan Glazer in their work, *Beyond the Melting Pot*. The study found nationality loyalties to be still extremely significant in New York. The continuing and growing number of urban folk festivals, especially annual celebration in Cleveland, is additional evidence of ethnic durability.

It is a mistake to assume that nationality observances occur only in the East and the Great Lakes. Nebraska, the home of Senator Roman Hruska of the Omaha Czech community, held a centennial in 1967 which included the spirited participation of various ethnic organizations. My state, Kansas, where Representative Skubitz of Yugoslav descent represents a partially Italian and Slovenian constituency has an annual Czech festival in Wilson and a widely-known Swedish Oktoberfest in Lindsborg. Also the Longhorn state, Texas, recently built a multi-million dollar museum of ethnic heritage in San Antonio called the Institute for Texan Cultures which has proved enormously popular. And finally a Western Jewish Historical Society has just gotten underway in Berkeley, California.

Those agencies closest to our school age population have already begun to respond to the growing awareness of ethnic affiliation. In the most recent few years certain enlightened boards of education have begun reforming their secondary school curriculum and in fact anticipating the objectives of your ethnic heritage center bill. Parma, Ohio, outside Cleveland already has an active program designed to teach its high school youth about our pluralistic society and Cook County is presently considering a similar reform in its suburban schools outside Chicago. Final evidence of the cultivation of the ethnic factor at the lower educational levels is the growing number of publishers who have produced various series on all this nation's racial and nationality sub-cultures. The Lerner Publishing Company's set of works and those of Wadsworth in California are two examples. Other houses, Twayne, Basic Books, and Holt, Rinehart and Winston have already commissioned similar studies for the college level and the academic community at large.

Thus it is quite clear that our society is now becoming increasingly aware of its pluralistic heritage. However, again, in order to alleviate the self-conscious frustration of our non-Black minorities, the Federal Government must take more extensive action in the educational field. Your bill with some minor reservations, I believe, offers the needed therapy for this problem.

I would like to add briefly other benefits of Federal assistance besides injecting greater self-assurance among our minority peoples. First, it will encourage all students of American society to view our nation more accurately. Our ethnic diversity will emerge as it was and is, a major force in the shaping of this nation. Secondly and more practically governmental support for heritage centers will assist in our role as a world power for it will help realize the vast potential of our pluralistic society. This nation suffers from an ignorance of other cultures, particularly inadequate linguistic tools to familiarize ourselves with European and Asian peoples. Ethnic instruction will motivate students at an early age not only to learn about foreign nations but more importantly to develop their latent expertise in analyzing them.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I was impressed with the aspect of your statement, and with the experience you have at the university. You are well qualified to make these observations. But your statement:

My experience with students in colleges demonstrates that not only does the hypocrisy of authority, the issues of racism and war disturb them but also a significant number, those of minority background, suffer from another psychological malaise. These descendants of Slavic, Italian, and Jewish immigrants have an identity crisis of their own, similar to though less intense than that of the Blacks.

I wonder if you would like to elaborate both as to the black students and the other minority students on this crisis of identity that you mention in your statement, because I think you have put your finger

on one of the great problems in this country, as have Dr. Spector and Dr. Hamp.

I said in my opening statement that this legislation might address itself to the most important problem in the country today, and that is the search among the vast section of our young people for identity. I wonder if we could ask you to elaborate on that.

Dr. GREENE. Let me express, first of all, my appreciation of your invitation to come here and talk about the bill. I am very encouraged to see that there are people in Congress who are sensitive to the needs of the student population.

The students are, as we well know, disturbed about the situation here in the society. And if I might interject here, news of this appears almost daily. If we look at the first page, for example, of this morning's Times, we read about the heroin problem in New York City and the taking of drugs by students in public schools. A majority of them are blacks, but a significant number are from the white population. So, as I say, I am very pleased to come here and to add my remarks concerning the students and youth.

I had intended, actually, Mr. Chairman, to read my formal statement. But since, as you say, time is limited, what I will do is to summarize it rather briefly.

Let me say as an introduction, however, and to add to my own identification, that in addition to being associate professor of history at Kansas State University, I have done research in the immigration field, particularly with peoples from Eastern Europe, more especially Polish Americans.

Let me add, too, my teaching experience last year in a university which recently got underway in one of our large urban centers, Cleveland State University. I was visiting professor there last year, and I think I had an excellent opportunity to talk to and to learn from students of minority backgrounds. As a matter of fact, the faculty refers to the student body by a very interesting term. They call it the "cosmos," which, of course, is shorthand for a heterogeneous body of students.

I see, as you say, that students are disturbed, and some of them about national issues. And I also see, as I indicated in my written remarks, a psychological malaise in their own understanding of themselves.

I saw this traumatic state among ethnics in the 1960's when I first entered this area of study. Unfortunately I noted that students, as well as parents of ethnic background, really have no realistic knowledge of their past. In a sense, an analogy might be that most of them suffer from cultural amnesia, not knowing about their past. Or, I think if they do have some knowledge of their heritage it is a rather distorted impression of it.

The reasons for this, as I indicated in my formal statement, are two. One is the failure of scholarship, particularly American historical scholarship, in recognizing diversity, and the other was the self-conscious nature of ethnic literature. In the 19th century most American historians themselves were interested in identity, but an identity which had to do with the promotion of loyalty to an ideal. This tended to emphasize the unity and the homogeneity of the population, rather than, as we know, what existed in the 19th century: heterogeneity and diver-

sity. But, as I say, historians were attempting to stimulate patriotism and loyalty to common ideals.

In the early 1900's, when sociology first appeared as a discipline, it began in fact to a considerable extent due to an interest in our ethnic city population. Judgments made upon social composition really stressed rapid homogenization of peoples. When at last scholars recognized that our population was diverse, the theory was that these differences, ethnic and cultural differences, were wiped away in a very short time.

Such works as Thomas and Znaniecki's study emphasized the cultural shock and the disorientation of new peoples, which resulted in a rapid assimilation. So, generalizations by sociologists and historians in the 1920's, when this was an issue, was that these differences had been eliminated, and existed only in the first few years after their arrival.

Until very recently then, American observers have paid very little attention to our diverse society. As I say, this was one failure.

The second handicap in recognizing diversity is that while there was some literature appearing in the 20th century concerning the variety of our social groups, these were poorly done and extremely self-conscious studies. Most of these works in history were written by amateurs, and they emphasized very strongly the period before 1860, when these groups had prominent personalities or heroes, who were of an ethnic and minority extraction, people such as Kosciuszko, Verrazano, Kossuth, the Hungarian revolutionary. Very little was written by these people of what took place after the post-Civil-War mass movement began. It was almost as if they were ashamed of the post 1870 newcomers.

This absence of knowledge that exists today of their past or at least the ignorance of ethnic group history among all Americans, as well as the distorted ideas the nationality writers and their critics have fostered, has produced this self-conscious identity crisis that we know today.

I would like to refer as evidence of this frustration the current activities of two nationality societies, a Polish-American Federation, and certain Italian organizations here. The Polish-American Congress, for example, has just started a campaign to restore the Polish-American tradition in a fair light as far as most Americans are concerned. This is a campaign to raise funds to bring the fine name of Polonia Amerykanski to all Americans. The same thing is true of Italians, who have recently established an antidefamation organization.

Such is the state of the older generation among minority groups, and their youth; students, I think, are suffering from it too. They tend to downgrade their past, as I mentioned, in their earnest attempt to imitate their Anglo-American peers.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Would one reason for that be the almost complete absence of historical material in our present school system?

I was looking, for instance—and I think this can be applied to all minority groups, regardless of ethnic background and race—over this book that Dr. Spector gave us, "The American Negro." It deals with the current situation in America, lists the current leaders, talks about the Civil Rights Act and the economic gains, and talks about the opera star, Miss Leontyne Price. But if you look at this little booklet, you

will find practically nothing here that would indicate the rich cultural background going back 200, 500, 2,000, 3,000 years.

The same thing with the Poles. You have some information on the Italians in the country, but you get down to some of the groups that Dr. Hamp talked about, and the information just is not there.

You mention the Polish-American Congress campaign to try to uplift the recognition of the cultural background of that particular group. But, in my judgment, these are somewhat acts of desperation, because these groups have reached a point where they feel they have been completely ignored.

It occurs to me that what we do need is a great deal of the source material on which you can build much more rationally.

Dr. GREENE. Yes, I agree.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The young people that you speak of in your statement, as I look at the American textbook—and we recently had hearings here, a couple of years ago. We had hearings on textbooks and how they treat the nonwhite group in this country. At that time there was practically nothing. I think there has been some progress made since then, but the progress has really been very slow.

Do you think the academic community is capable of developing this source of material?

Dr. GREENE. I think unquestionably.

I would like to refer, though, to your statement which deals with their European past. I think that certainly they should be aware of their cultural heritage, their ancestral cultural heritage, the nobles and kings of Poland, of Italy, and so forth.

But what is more important, I think, in the development of a greater self-assurance, is an examination of their own past that is closer to them, a past that refers to their parents and grandparents. What I would like to see studied especially is the immigrants themselves, the accomplishment of those people in moving from the Old World to the new and in setting up their various institutions, their colonies, their churches, their newspapers. I refer to this, of course, in my formal remarks. Their very own community, this is something with which they ought to identify more closely. And these study centers can provide the mechanism to dispel their anxieties.

What I am really referring to here is not only emphasis upon their Polish heritage but their Polish-American heritage as well.

Mr. PUCINSKI. This is why it seems to me so much needs to be done. Thursday we observed Lincoln's Birthday, and I have heard on a number of occasions reference being made that perhaps there might be less tolerance in some of the Slavic groups in the dialog between the races in this country than among other groups.

It was rather interesting to note last Thursday that it was also the birthday of another great revolutionary hero, Kosciuszko. And I astounded some of my friends in Chicago by pointing out that this revolutionary hero issued an emancipation proclamation 65 years before Lincoln, when he instructed Thomas Jefferson to use his entire estate in this country to purchase Negro slaves, and then help educate them and make them free, worthwhile citizens of the community.

How many people in this country of Polish background, or otherwise, know this important historical fact? Those having difficulty today working with the various races ought to know that some of their

heroes have been striving to bring about greater equality of opportunity among men. I think this could help to eliminate misunderstanding in this country.

Dr. GREENE. I think Kosciuszko is a superb example of that.

I bet my good friend, Congressman Hawkins, doesn't know about that.

Mr. HAWKINS. You want me to confess my ignorance?

[Laughter.]

Mr. PUCINSKI. While this book is good as far as it goes, it really doesn't achieve near the goals we hope to reach.

Dr. GREENE. I just want to refer again to Kosciuszko as a superb example of an individual who not only could, but did, make Polish-Americans good Americans. This is, of course, the field that I have done research in.

In this literature there are constant references all through the 19th and 20th century sources of Kosciuszko as the Hero of Two Continents, the person who came here and fought with Washington as a comrade in arms. It was his achievement and accomplishment that helped to weld the Poles to this Nation. And, in fact, in this very city, I think it is very important to note that there are statues to Kosciuszko which were constructed, actually, in 1910, which were to show that this ethnic group was a part of the American scene as well. We now have Kosciuszko and Pulaski statues around the country in Polish centers.

Mr. HAWKINS. Could I interrupt just a moment and possibly get the reaction of the panel to the Kerner Commission Report, which indicated we are drifting into a nation of two societies, one white and one black, and whether or not the frightening prospect of having a society which individuals divide merely on the basis of color can possibly be avoided by building this understanding that we are not just a nation of two groups, but rather a nation of many backgrounds and cultures.

I would like very much, if it has not already been covered, to get the reaction of some of the members of this very distinguished panel to the application of this type of program to avoiding that possibility of having a society which is split just between black and white.

Dr. SPECTOR. May I respond to that? Principally because I am concerned in my professional work with a group that is neither black nor white, the peoples from Asia and Southeast Asia.

We have a sizable Chinese-American and Japanese-American and Mexican-American, Puerto Ricans—they are Americans, and we don't have to hyphenate that. And in our great State of Hawaii, we have a Polonesian-, Japanese-, Chinese-American mixture. They are very rich in their culture and very beautiful to behold, I think.

These people are a substantial minority in America. They are divided in cultural and ethnic subgroups. They do not identify in racial terms either with the white community nor with the black community. They are clearly different. And I think we should take that group—you could break them down into Chinese, Japanese, Philipinos, Hawaiian, and so forth.

You could do the same with the American Indian. What we get is the mosaic which Chairman Pucinski has talked about, this very rich rainbow, to speak of color, and of cultures, and I think that is the hope of America. If we can show that we are a continuous spectrum of peoples from one extreme—the Scandinavian in the north with golden

hair and blue eyes to the Bengali-American, or any group you want—there are large and small ones—we can then show we are all part of this continuous spectrum, we are all Americans, we all recognize some previous heritage. We recognize the differences in color and creed, and so forth, but there is no confrontation, then. There is a continuum, and that is the word I would like to stress for the 1970's—continuum. We are continuous.

I think this legislation helps by demonstrating the roles of other minorities. Perhaps in numbers they have not attracted as wide attention as the great Negro minority, but there are substantial numbers of people going into millions. Many intermarried with the black community, such as the American Indians, our Mexicans, and the others. We are a mixture, and the more we can demonstrate the rich contributions of all the peoples—in fact, that is the only way we can avoid this direct confrontation.

That is why, in my testimony, I referred to the African studies centers. That is very good, but they are mainly trying to study their recent exploitation of the black in America, which we must understand. But it is far better to refer, also, at the same time, without denying the study of the recent history, to their own rich heritage, which is only one of many such.

I know we have an extraordinary example in my university and in the high schools, where we have promoted Chinese studies in the black or mixed schools in St. Louis. And I have found that the American Negro who studies Chinese culture and language and masters it doesn't love his Negro identity, but suddenly he sees it in perspective.

We have such marvelous relationships between our Chinese and Negroes that I have great hope. The same would be true of studies of other groups.

Let me point to one conflict in America, the so-called Polish joke, which I think, after the first few laughs, any reflection we see could be a painful thing, especially to the thing, to be subjected to TV, on campuses and schools, to the wide range of Polish jokes, which there is no excuse for, and will have no historical background for.

Since I am of Jewish origin, I feel this is a sort of minor Jewish crime committed in America, getting back at Poles for years of pogroms. This goes back to Europe, and it bespeaks an ignorance of the fact that 500, 600 years ago Poland was the greatest single refuge for Jews in Europe. That is how they all got there, because the Poles were the people who welcomed them and took them in.

Subsequent history, economic conditions, repression, all the history of Europe, led to pogroms later in the 19th century, and the 20th, which the Jews did not quite recover from.

So what I am suggesting is that they have brought over to America sometimes the worst of the heritage instead of the best. The Jews brought over a hatred of Poles, which I know. As a youth I used to hear all the time that the Poles were this and that, and they do not know that the Poles in their day offered refuge, the only refuge in Europe, to the persecuted just from the Crusades, the Middle Ages, and the great Polish kings welcomed them and gave them refuge.

This is the kind of thing, if the people will understand the problems and go back to the sources, I think we can learn a lot. As far as the confrontation between blacks and whites, I think we can avoid

it by showing them we study their heritage as well as that of the Orientals, and so forth.

I think this legislation addresses itself to the problem.

Mr. HAWKINS. What you are saying is that the ethnic studies will increase the understanding and reduce the conflict rather than increase the feeling that there is one group which is "we" and the other group which is "they." By increasing the feeling of diversity, we will not be increasing the animosity and fragment Americans further into a series of conflicting groups.

Dr. SPECTOR. I believe in your own State you have one of the largest Japanese and Chinese majorities, and it doesn't need much history to recall the strong tide of anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese feeling that swept over California in the 19th century. American labor, which was otherwise liberal, was guilty of the Chinese Exclusion Acts and hostility.

This has changed since World War II, when we started studying Japanese and Chinese cultures. The Japanese and Chinese communities in California today appear healthy. And as we recognize their diversity, they become more devoted to America. As other Americans recognize their contribution, they see such people in a positive light.

We never hear used today certain words for Chinese that I heard as a child. By positive education, we can develop positive attitudes toward one's self and toward one's neighbors.

We leave it now to chance, and it is shocking that the only knowledge that I have had of Poles was through those jokes or those little sayings in a home environment, which was not enlightened by the kind of education that this bill offers.

Mr. PUCINSKI. If the gentleman would yield, I believe that Mr. Hawkins asked a good question in the concern of the Kerner Report. It seems to me that unless there is greater communication in terms of historical background, this country could become a Nation of two fundamental societies: black and white. It seems to me that this is the importance of legislation like this.

You are going to stop distrust and animosities and prejudice when people know something about each other. It is an amazing thing how often you will find even the most rabid bigots changing their minds and reassessing their judgments when you can sit down and discuss facts and figures and historical background.

So I was wondering if you gentlemen agree that one way to make sure that the rather pessimistic appraisal of the Kerner Commission Report does not materialize as a permanent institution in this country.

Dr. GREENE. I was going to speak on this question of learning more about each other, particularly the cultivation of diversity.

I think there is a danger in it, the danger, as I mentioned here in my remarks, about cultivating the knowledge in an exaggerated manner.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes.

Dr. GREENE. I think the objectives of these various centers would have to be looked at or specified appropriately. If the minorities are under the impression that, for example, American society has abused them throughout, or they have some kind of bias about the exploitation by others, in other words, if they come to the ethnic centers with

a bias already, the centers may serve as an environment not only for black nationalism, but other types of nationalism.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think Dr. Spector drew the differences, and quite properly so, in some of the centers that have been created in this country and closed down, because they become, in effect, political centers instead of academic centers. It would be my hope that we can and will draw that distinction.

We are talking here now about resource centers, on academic, historical material, material that can be prepared in lecture form, textbook form, filmstrips, film slides, about the historical background of people, about the cultural background of people.

I would be the first to object strongly if these centers should become a citadel of political action for any group. If these centers were to polarize differences, then there is no merit in this legislation. But I believe the opposite is true, in that these centers are designed to provide greater information for exchange among people.

Mr. RADCLIFFE. I wondered if what you really are saying is that the cultural history of the United States, of all Americans, is being badly taught, or perhaps really not taught at all. And I wonder if you feel that the average Anglo-Saxon, if you will, if there is such a person, is apt to have a very profound, or even a good casual acquaintance with his own cultural history. Because it has been my experience that he does not.

Dr. GREENE. He doesn't recognize that his own background is ethnic. He regards it as American, rather than Anglo-American.

At Kansas State, most of my student body is Anglo-American. And in my course, it takes me almost the entire semester to show them what ethnicity is.

Mr. RADCLIFFE. Let me examine that. For example, my ancestral background is southern-white hill people. They crossed the Appalachians into Kentucky and Indiana. I am part Cherokee Indian. My wife is French-Canadian. So what ethnic center would you have for our little daughter?

What I am suggesting is that perhaps you are going to need something broader in concept.

Dr. SPECTOR. The ethnic center is not going to be built for a student to go to and attend. If there would be a center to study the Canadian—I imagine it would be somewhere up in New Hampshire or Maine—which would study the very fascinating Canadian-American history, and the American Indian. They would produce textbooks which should be available to your daughter, so she would get it all, I should hope.

Dr. HAMP. They would also train teachers, who in turn would convey that material into the broader teacher-training instruments, colleges of teacher training, which would in turn produce the teachers that would teach your daughter.

Mr. RADCLIFFE. We are keenly aware of the neglect of the French-Canadian history, but I think not only has my wife's cultural heritage been neglected in the school, but that of all the children who have a share in that heritage by virtue of being citizens of our country.

Dr. GREENE. The English are an ethnic group, also. The black-studies program has been very beneficial to the idea of ethnicity. The book by Winthrop Jordan speaks about English attitudes toward blacks before there was even a United States of America, which had their effect on our treatment of blacks.

Dr. HAMP. Could I respond to Representative Hawkins' question a trifle more?

It seems to me what is important about this proposed legislation, and what appeals to me particularly as an academic, I might say, is that it is based on intellectual issues. It is based on matters of the mind. And it seems to me that that is what things must be if they are to be right.

We all know now, if we never knew it before, that "black is beautiful," but as a matter of fact, in any matter of black studies, it is not the skin that is really at issue, it is the man that is underneath it. So, therefore, if it is to mean anything at all academically, black studies can only mean the study of cultures that are borne by certain people.

It may happen that those people look black. Because this proposed legislation would be occupied with matters that can be perceived by the mind, by reference to cultures of one sort or another, I think indeed it would not only tend to avoid polarization, to disperse this very unfortunate tendency to see things as a simple dichotomy; such legislation would place matters squarely where they belong, that is, as studies of ethnic heritages, studies of matters of the mind. And so in that fashion there can be no dichotomy, no simple dichotomy when there exists this multitude of cultures in the world.

In that respect I see such legislation as leading us toward a more proper intellectual grasp of what the mind truly can address, and what it must address.

Dr. GREENE. I would like to speak additionally on that matter, because I think one of the other favorable effects of these centers will be individuals interested in recognizing other groups, groups other than those of which they are a member.

I might say this from my own experience—my last name is Greene, but my research has been with Slavic peoples. I am rather unique, at least in American history, I think, in ethnic history in studying groups of which I am not a member. I have been overwhelmed by the warmth of people of Eastern European extraction. And I think these centers will make possible cross studies of cultures in the United States and elsewhere, which I think will be desirable in terms of knowledge, in terms of really futhering and advancing the frontiers of just the intellectual aspects of the subject.

Dr. SPECTOR. May I enlarge for a moment on a subject which is closely akin to what has just been mentitoned by Doctors Hamp and Greene?

Of the existing black studies centers, one of the major problems has been and is that in several universities and schools there is an insistence that the instructor and the researchers all be black. If you are not black, you are not competent to approach the subject in the proper frame of mind. And I have had the experience of being told I was unwelcomed in a classroom in which black studies were being taught because I was not black.

Now, this is what happens when there is a political, unplanned, sudden development of black studies centers. I can understand that they are making some good contributions and will. But this tendency to exclude from such programs those who are not members of the ethnic community is most deplorable, and it is precisely the kind of bill which we are now discussing which can alter that.

This bill can set up the model center, the kind that will, by the

superiority of its products and its breadth, set an example so that those which are conceived on narrow, discriminatory lines simply will, in the public gaze, not make it.

I think it is terrible that a black studies course may be boycotted at a university if the teacher himself is not a man with black skin over whatever is underneath. The Ethnic Studies Center which permits a Doctor Greene to study Slovaks, Doctor Hamp to study something—and I am certainly not Chinese—is the kind of American institution which we need. And this is the first time in our history—I believe that our Congress has devoted itself to grappling with the realities of America, creating a constructive kind of approach to our American myths.

Mr. HAWKINS. May I thank the witnesses for clarification, because it seems to me if this is not the understanding of this proposal at the very beginning that we can be led astray. And certainly a lot of confusion would be created if, merely in studying diversity of cultures we divide people, rather than unite them. This is not my ideal of the objective of this proposal, and I think that it is defining culture as it should be defined, and that the result of the contributions of these various groups, black studies, or Chinese studies, or whatever you may have, that these are merely aspects of this larger culture, but not a culture of its own separate from the American culture.

And if this is the understanding—and my understanding is that it is—then certainly we can agree.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am very pleased that you raised that question so the record could be clarified. Certainly the main thrust of this legislation is to provide information on the multiplicity of cultural contributions in this country, to make up the mosaic of American cultures, and to the extent that we can better understand the individual's contribution in evaluating ourselves better as Americans, I think this legislation has merit and does offer excellent opportunities that heretofore have been lacking.

Dr. GREENE. Let me add another factor in the consideration of the bill, and that is the time factor.

I think too often with black studies, programs were put in very, very quickly, in an unplanned manner, due to pressure, I imagine, from most of the black students. And if there is a growing dichotomy, if there is a fractionalization on ethnic lines, which seems to be developing, at least psychologically, I think this can be moderated to at least a considerable extent in the establishment of the ethnic centers now, rather than later on when there is a great deal of pressure from the other ethnic groups to institute them.

Anyway, it is a remedy applied to a developing problem, rather than to a problem that is already upon us, where you have to act in a crisis. I think there is some need, perhaps, to speed up some consideration of the bill on that basis.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Spector?

Dr. SPECTOR. Mr. Chairman, may I say something on another subject which is in my written testimony, but I think should be raised before the committee this morning. And that is the question of the funding of the bill itself.

Would comments be welcome on some of the details of the act itself?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Please go ahead.

Dr. SPECTOR. I would like to point out that although the funding levels look rather low, even in these times of great economy, \$10 million does not look like much for the first year, nor \$20 million for the second, I would like to point out that there will be a tremendous multiplier effect if this legislation could pass, even if these very modest sums, considering the great task before us—these sums could do a lot.

I can testify that for every \$1 allowed to our center by the Federal Government, my university placed between \$8 and \$10 at the disposal of our Center, so that last year, I believe I received \$40,000 for my Center under title VI of NDEA. My university contributed something like \$387,000 additional dollars alone for the support of that Center, a Center which hardly existed before the Federal funding came about.

So I think you can anticipate that your \$10 million request in this bill will yield, should it be passed, approximately \$100 million in 1970, and probably from \$150 to \$200 million in 1971, which could do a very good job.

I know how universities behave. They will put money where money is forthcoming, and when Federal money is taken away, they do not fill the gap but, rather, they also hedge their investment. This is a most important factor to be borne in mind. And I think that makes this bill, again, viable and applicable.

The thing can be done under these terms. I would suggest that there are two dangers, however, which I observe growing out of my experience in trying to plan for the International Education Act, and also for the NDEA.

The first is that we must watch the problem of geographic spread and location. Naturally, with a limited number of centers and with a desire to have an equitable spread throughout the country, problems will arise. And to spread \$10 million over 1,000 centers will mean very little.

I would like to suggest, therefore, in considering the legislation, that two things, perhaps, could be given as recommendations, unless the wording of the bill itself might be changed.

One is that one might—I should not advise Congress, but I feel that at least guidelines are very important by the time a piece of legislation gets to the Office of Education—they do have to know the congressional intent. I would suggest that one very important thing is that we see the centers as a consortium of institutions and that although a center may be placed in Chicago or San Francisco, that it be clearly allowable that the university there, which is the prime contractor, act in consortium with universities in other parts of the country so as to get a national spread, so as to get the resources from all over the country, regardless of where the headquarters are.

This makes this very viable, and it prevents this proliferation which could only end up in tokenism.

The second thing is, in dealing with the term "identifiable ethnic groups," I am sure if Dr. Hamp started to really identify, he would go on all day identifying groups, and when he finished, there would be 50 more groups telling him they had been left out.

Therefore, I would suggest that it be shown that we talk in terms of groups of, or clusters of ethnic groups, and that this be clearly done. Otherwise, it will be thought that perhaps one, two, or three groups are going to cop the whole thing and the others will be left aside.

I think through such groupings, again, economy and concentration of effort can be done. With consortia, you can take a group, and various groups within the consortia could specialize on the individual groups.

That is my suggestion, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. HAMP. May I say, also, that not only would this act in the interests of efficiency and economy, but it makes the best intellectual sense; that is to say, without doing violence to any one group, or acting at the expense of any single group.

One group can be studied in its pertinent aspect most efficiently with that corresponding segment of the culture of another group. As one instance, while you may need to have separate language instruction for the study of two peoples of the Balkans, you would actually lose a great deal by not handling all together certain aspects of social structure, let us say, of Greek, Albanian, and southern Yugoslavian culture history, since these traditions all share a great deal.

Therefore, I would say that the lines should be drawn as they naturally cleave on intellectual grounds, not on cleavages that come out of budgetary, administrative or arbitrary geographical considerations.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Gentlemen, the House is in session, so we will have to conclude our meeting this morning. But I want to thank you, Dr. Specter, Dr. Hamp, and Dr. Greene, for kicking off this set of hearings on what I think is going to be a piece of legislation that will make a significant contribution toward bringing about better understanding among Americans.

We are people of a very unique country. Most countries of the world do not have this problem, because for the most part their populations are of very similar cultural background, whether it is England, or France, or Italy, or Poland, or whatever country you want. Within the different republics they have, for the most part, a similarity of culture.

One of the intriguing things about America is its polyglot character, and I am astounded that over the years we have made no effort to recognize the fact that we are a polyglot nation, and that we ought to know more about ourselves as individuals.

This tendency to homogenize 200 million people—we wonder what went wrong. I think what went wrong is that you can't homogenize 200 million people. You have to try to recognize all the individual attributes and then try to weave them into the fabric of a mosaic that we call America. When we do that, I think we can come to a better understanding among citizens of this country.

I am grateful to you for starting off these hearings for us, and I am hopeful that the other witnesses are going to be as well versed on the subject as you are in getting this legislation through.

We want to thank you very much.

The subcommittee will stand adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 o'clock a.m. on Tuesday, February 17, 1970.)

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1970

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
GENERAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 10:45 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 2175, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Roman C. Pucinski (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Pucinski and Bell.

Staff members present: John F. Jennings, majority counsel; Alexandra Kislak, clerk; and Charles Radcliffe, minority counsel for education.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. Ramirez and Mr. Hartshorn, won't you come up here? We will continue our hearings this morning on H.R. 14910, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers bill, which is designed to try to provide some Federal assistance to universities and other public and private agencies in this country to try to develop educational material for the elementary and high school students on the identifiable ethnic groups of America, the theory being that as young people get to know more about each other, we strengthen the mosaic of this country.

I said yesterday at the beginning of these hearings that perhaps one reason why we have so much turmoil in this country is that we have tried to homogenize 200 million people into a monolith, instead of recognizing that America is a mosaic of many people, each with his own contributions and each with the culture that he inherited from his forebears, and only by understanding the wealth of this culture can we bring about a better understanding between the races and religious groups we have in America, and increased respect for differences.

I am particularly concerned, for instance, with the treatment of the Latin Americans in this country. We find today, in 1970, the average Latin American frequently finds himself at the very bottom of the social ladder, being exploited, in too many instances getting the worst of the job opportunities, and generally treated by his fellow Americans as a sadly neglected citizen when, just a couple of centuries ago, the Spanish culture dominated this part of the world, and the richness and the beauty of the Latin American culture was the very thing that attracted people to this continent.

There is something dramatically wrong with the whole system of American education when in a nation that is unique among nations of the world in its polyglot character, there is literally not a word about our heterogeneous complexion in the textbooks that children use to learn about their country.

As you look through the textbooks of this country, you find a dominant theme of one or two countries in the world, and you ask yourself, "How can young Americans retain identity as Americans when they are kept totally oblivious of the fact that this Nation, unlike any other nation, is heterogeneous in makeup, and requires a great deal of cross-fertilization of ideas about each other if we are to indeed make this great experiment in the cooperation of mankind succeed."

We are holding these hearings with the hope that we can generate enough support for this legislation, and we are very pleased to have with us this morning Dr. Manuel Ramirez III, associate professor and director of the Bicultural-Bilingual project at Claremont, Calif.

We are also very pleased to have Mr. Merrill Hartshorn, who is executive secretary of the National Council for the Social Studies in Washington, D.C.

Joining this panel will be Dr. Jaipaul, who is the director of the Nationality Community Race Relations, National Service Center of Philadelphia, Pa. Dr. Jaipaul will be taking the place of Mr. Frank Dearness, who was originally scheduled.

I would recommend, gentlemen, that we proceed with each of your opening statements. Your entire statement, of course, will go in the record, and you can proceed in any way you wish. You can read your opening statement or, if you prefer, you can summarize it so it will give us more time.

We will be stopping at 12 o'clock. The House goes into session at noon. Perhaps you might prefer to submit your formal statement for the record and then summarize it to give us more time for a free-for-all discussion on this subject.

So I will let each of you proceed in your own manner. May I suggest that we start with Dr. Ramirez.

A PANEL CONSISTING OF MANUEL RAMIREZ III, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR AND DIRECTOR, BICULTURAL-BILINGUAL PROJECT, CLAREMONT COLLEGE, CLAREMONT, CALIF.; MERRILL HARTSHORN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES, WASHINGTON, D.C.; AND DR. JAIPAUL, DIRECTOR, NATIONALITY COMMUNITY RACE RELATIONS, NATIONAL SERVICE CENTER, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Dr. RAMIREZ. Thank you very much.

In my opinion the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers bill will make a significant impact on the following four areas which are directly related to the performance of Mexican-American children in schools: (1) self-concept; (2) attitudes of Mexican-American parents toward the schools; (3) interethnic understanding and respect; and (4) bilingual-bicultural education.

With regard to the self-concept, research I have done with Chicano children and adolescents has shown that when the schools exclude the child's culture from the curriculum, the child eventually comes to think that his ethnic group is inferior and that he must reject his identity with it in order to secure a place in the majority culture. This usually leads to conflict with parents and eventually to anxiety and guilt.

These feelings have in many cases been intensified because many schoolteachers and administrators in the Southwest have made it a practice to punish Chicano children for speaking Spanish in school.

Testimony before the U.S. Civil Rights Commission hearings in San Antonio, Tex., in December 1968, provided evidence that this practice is still being followed in schools in Texas and other States of the Southwest. When schools punish children for speaking the language of their parents and for other behaviors which indicate identification with their ethnic group, it is not difficult to predict negative effects on their self-concept and on their interpersonal relationships with people in their neighborhoods.

In my experience heritage curriculum is effective in alleviating many of these problems. In a bicultural/bilingual program which is being financed by Project Followthrough, we are presently developing and implementing heritage curriculum with elementary school children. We have seen very noticeable changes in the self-esteem of these children.

The practice of excluding Chicano culture from the curriculum of the schools has also affected the Mexican-American parent. Since their culture is not allowed expression by the schools, they come to believe that they must not let their children identify with it. On the other hand, they feel compelled by their culture to encourage their children to emulate them. The result is a great deal of ambivalence and conflict. They are forced to give their children conflicting messages such as, "Be like me, but don't be like me."

Which brings me to alienation. Most Mexican-American parents have been alienated by the schools because they have never been allowed to play an active role in the educational process. Even though many school administrators were aware that the primary language of most Chicano parents in their communities was Spanish, PTA meetings were conducted exclusively in English, and messages sent home were only in English. In addition, what the Chicano parents taught their children at home was usually not reinforced and in some cases even ridiculed by the schools.

It has not been recognized that many Chicano parents possess knowledge which is indispensable to the curriculum of the schools. These centers can acknowledge this. They can overcome the alienation which exists in the Chicano community by hiring parents as consultants and curriculum writers, thus in this way obtaining valuable knowledge of oral history, folktales, folksongs, and dances, which in turn will help to make the schools culturally relevant.

In line with this, I would suggest that you add to H.R. 14910 a provision requiring that community people be employed by these centers. If activities by these centers result in enterprises which involve university people exclusively, one of the greatest potential contributions of this bill will be lost.

Another great contribution of these centers will be in the area of interethnic understanding. Our research has shown that many conflicts between the middle-class teacher and the Chicano student occur because neither understand the culture of the other. In the process of training teachers to use heritage curriculum, these centers could sensitize them to the culture of the Chicano child, thus alerting them to possible areas of interpersonal conflict.

The curriculum produced by these centers could also aid in reducing interethnic student conflict in the schools. Students will become more knowledgeable about each other's backgrounds, and when they learn of the contributions of each other's ethnic group to American history they will come to respect the differences they see in each other.

This bill would also reinforce and strengthen bilingual programs which are now being developed in schools throughout the country. These programs should all be bicultural as well as bilingual. That is, they should contain heritage curriculum. Yet, many districts do not have the resources necessary for doing the research to develop these materials.

This poses a danger that bilingual programs now being developed will not have a heritage component, thus falling back into the practice of cultural exclusion. The centers could prevent this.

Finally, in my opinion the ethnic heritage studies centers bill will put an end to the melting pot philosophy in our schools once and for all, thus condemning those practices which have had a deleterious effect on the attempt by members of many ethnic groups to achieve to the utmost of their potential. This bill will at long last make cultural democracy in the American public schools a reality.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I have one question, and then we will go into more extensive questions. But I was wondering, Dr. Ramirez, if you could comment on whether in your judgment this could be done within the framework of title VI of the NDEA.

As you know, title VI does provide for some language development, or development of language curriculum. My own feeling is that it could not; but I was wondering whether or not you would care to offer any views or opinions on that.

Dr. RAMIREZ. I am not extremely familiar with title VI, but I can just go on past performance, and this has not been the case, as you well know.

I think there is also a very significant contribution of this bill, and I think it is going to finally emphasize that cultural democracy in our schools is coming, and this will legitimize cultural democracy in the schools. I think it has a tremendous impact on policy. It will have a tremendous impact on policy in the schools.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Would you like to define "cultural democracy?"

Dr. RAMIREZ. I would say cultural democracy would be a kind of a philosophy where teachers and school administrators would be sensitive to the uniqueness of children coming from diverse ethnic backgrounds, and therefore institute educational practices which build on that uniqueness, at the same time reinforcing the fact that we are all members of one country.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Would you believe that the reason we have the problem that we have today among, particularly, young people seeking identity, is that we have totally ignored this very sensitive area of the educational process?

We have tried to homogenize all these young people into a monolith, without recognizing that they each have sensitivities, they each have their own cultural values, which in their own way find in many instances very impressive expression, but to a very great extent is suppressed in our present system of putting everybody into a single mold.

Dr. RAMIREZ. Yes, sir; that is correct. In fact, this has been the cause of student alienation in many school districts in the Southwest—the dropout rate there for Mexican Americans is something like 80 percent. It is very, very high, because the schools are operating under the assumption that every child coming into their system operates like a middle-class child.

There is some evidence that the schools are not responsive to middle-class children, but they are not, certainly, responsive to the children of the minority ethnic groups.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Am I correct in assuming that the reason for this is that there is practically no textbook material or classroom material or film strips, or literature, or teachers, really, themselves who are trained in this?

Dr. RAMIREZ. Almost none, that is correct, almost none.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Bell?

Mr. BELL. I have no questions.

(Statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF MANUEL RAMIREZ III, PH. D., PITZER COLLEGE,
THE CLAREMONT COLLEGES

In my opinion the proposed bill will alleviate many of the conflicts now experienced by the Mexican-American child in the schools. Our research has shown that the curriculum as presently constituted results in feelings of self derogation in the Mexican-American child. Not only does he come to feel that the culture of his parents is unimportant, but teachers who do not understand his cultural background tend to misinterpret his attitudes and behaviors, thus, treating him as a mental retardate and a deviate. This results in conflict between the child and his teachers resulting in even greater misunderstandings. Research we have done with some picture cards to which the children are asked to tell stories indicate that conflicts due to cultural misunderstandings create alienation in the child and a reduced motivation to perform in the classroom. The end result is in creating a gulf between the world of the child's parents and the world of his teachers. The child is led to believe that he must reject his identity with one culture or the other. This produces tension for the child and feelings of animosity between his parents and his teachers. It is not uncommon to find that in many Mexican-American neighborhoods the school is seen as a place that does not value the Mexican-American culture and which tries to undermine the teachings of the Mexican-American parent. The ethnic heritage studies centers could serve to close the gap which now exists between the Mexican-American neighborhood and the schools. When Chicano parents see that their culture is valued enough by the schools that it is included in the curriculum they will begin to feel more positively towards these institutions. This in turn will help the child to achieve an identity within two cultures. As a truly bicultural person he need not feel antagonistic toward one culture or the other, but will achieve deep respect for both.

These centers could reduce the alienation of the Mexican-American parent toward the school in still another way—they could involve him as a consultant to develop heritage materials. Many Mexican-American parents have felt rejected by the schools because their primary language is Spanish and all the activities of the school including PTA meetings, are conducted in English. However, they need not know English to participate in the activities of these centers and their knowledge of Spanish, of oral history and of folk tales, folk songs, and dances will truly be invaluable in developing a heritage curriculum.

Another very significant contribution of the products of these centers would be inter-ethnic understanding and mutual respect by students of different ethnic groups. In many schools conflicts between students of different ethnic groups are all too frequent. Many of these are due to lack of knowledge or to adoption of stereotypes which are perpetrated by the mass media. A child who is a product of mainstream America calls a Chicano child a Frito bandido or a lazy Mexican and a fight is inevitable. If schools were to include Mexican and Mexican-American history in their curriculum, then, there would be respect for the Chicano child's ethnic group. Teaching Chicano culture in the schools

will give it the status it deserves in the eyes of children of mainstream America and this will in turn improve relationships between the ethnic groups.

In conclusion, this bill will make cultural democracy in the classroom a reality. We are all aware of the damaging consequences of the old melting pot philosophy. This led educators to conclude that what children of many ethnic groups learned from their parents was wrong, that it was un-American, that it resulted in the child being disadvantaged. We are now beginning to realize that it is necessary to make the schools culturally relevant if children from ethnic groups, which have previously been ostracized, are to survive academically. We are now beginning to recognize that we must respect the child's uniqueness and build on it rather than try to eradicate it. It is my firm belief, therefore, that the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers bill will reinforce and hasten the coming of the era of cultural democracy in American education.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I wonder if we could proceed now to Mr. Hartshorn. Would you like to proceed, sir?

Mr. HARTSHORN. I think the sponsors of this bill are to be commended for their vision in perceiving a neglected area in curriculum research and development and for initiating legislation which promises to make an important contribution to the education of American youth.

The Ethnic Heritage Study Centers bill has several important features which I endorse. This bill will legitimize the cultural diversities of the pluralistic mosaic of the American society and will help to combat the unfortunate side effects that have arisen from the utilization of the "melting pot myth" as a motivating factor in the Nation's schools.

Often equating the different with the disadvantaged, minority with inferiority, our schools have demanded cultural conformity of all its ethnic groups.

Schools have generally failed in encouraging self-pride in one's ethnic group. They have largely ignored and omitted the rich traditions and folk culture of all but the white middle class, and all too often have caused American youth who belong to a particular ethnic group to be embarrassed and ashamed of their language and cultural heritage. As a result, the schools have not been generally successful in helping such youth to be synthesized into the mainstream of American culture.

America has no one culture; it has many. The Ethnic Heritage Study bill provides a mechanism that could correct a serious aspect of social studies education; namely, the study of the traditions, heritage and culture of America's many ethnic groups and the contributions of various groups to the enrichment of America life.

It appears clear that at the present moment in history we are in the midst of a cultural crisis. Our society is changing abruptly and disruptively. As a result many of our assumptions about the traditional values of our society are being questioned and challenged, particularly by the youth of our Nation. Conflict among groups in our society exists at every hand, and these conflicts contribute greatly to the misunderstandings, distrust, dislikes, suspicions and uncertainties which characterize our Nation today.

Hence, it is particularly opportune that consideration is being given at this time to the question of study about ethnic groups and culture. It is already late for us to be devoting our energies and resources to this matter, but we cannot go back; we can only move forward in facing up to the issues, thoughtfully consider what can be done to alleviate the problem, and then move into action.

Surveys have documented that American schools:

1. Offer few unified courses in specific ethnic studies. The primary exception to this fact is the growing number of Afro-American courses.

2. Do not integrate the study of ethnic cultures in survey courses in American history.

3. Often directly undermine identification of an individual with his ethnic group by dress codes and language rules which deemphasize the unique culture of individuals. Many feel these incidents of omission and suppression have been a contributing factor in the current unrest among our students today.

For these reasons we feel H.R. 14910 is an important legislative act and we encourage its support.

While endorsing H.R. 14910, I have a caveat, and suggestions for two general areas that could be emphasized with more specific directives: the first suggestion deals with the interrelationship between our ethnic groups; the second, with the implementation and dissemination of the curriculum materials that are to be developed.

A CAVEAT

1. America is cultural diversity. American culture is a synthesis of contributions from many lands and many peoples, a new synthesis with its own special character, but one in which the component parts are still easily recognizable. Surely in the United States, which has been created out of many differences, there should be respect for differences. Surely where differences have been the rule throughout the history of a nation, there should be no demand for uniformity.

The actual picture is somewhat different. We are stirred by the thought that many racial and national groups have helped form our America. But deep down in the hearts of many there is the feeling that a lot of these people are really foreigners. They may be citizens in the legal sense, but just the same they are not Americans in quite the same sense we are. Many Americans do not like having these ethnic groups bring their foreign ways into our country.

This widespread attitude, one which is often taken over by even recent immigrants in the process of assimilation, is usually encouraged by an almost complete ignorance as to how American culture came into being. The less one knows about that, the easier it is to maintain the complete separation between that which is American, and therefore good, and what is foreign, and therefore "bad."

Anthropologists use the term "acculturation" to describe the process by means of which a person is inducted into a new culture. This is the process which a Southern Negro immigrant to New York, a Polish immigrant to Chicago, or a rural Midwesterner recently come to the seaboard metropolis undergoes. A study of this process within the context of "American culture" would contribute much to the curriculum development goals proposed. A self-conscious understanding of the fact that in a highly mobile society we are all going through this process could lead to a significant humanistic end.

It is, therefore, important that an understanding of the nature of culture, and particularly a comprehension of the nature of our pluralistic society, be a central concern of each ethnic studies center. The absence of such a consideration can lead to stereotypes, narrow provincial

attitudes, and to a further divisiveness among the various cultural groups that comprise our pluralistic society.

2. Educators, as well as the other people who comprise our Nation, seem to be confirmed in the habit of analyzing and discussing the phenomena of social life in terms of groups. On the pages of our history books we read of Northerners and Southerners, of frontiersmen and New Yorkers, of Yankees and Westerners. We describe with broad strokes of the brush the groups we call labor and capital, making them impersonal elements in the American scene.

We teach about Republicans and Democrats as groups, not as individuals. We teach of generalized coal miners, cowboys and farmers, of something vaguely referred to as bureaucrats, and of politicians. In our presentation to students, lawyers do this, bankers do that, teachers act this way, and the "press" takes this position.

The country was settled by Irish, English, Germans, French, Scandinavians, Italians, Greeks, Slavs, and Poles—all of them as groups, not persons. We speak of the Japanese-Americans as one unit; the "Mexicans" refers to a stereotyped peon. Among us are Jews and Catholics and Protestants. We refer to black people, Chicanos, and Indians. In every instance we think of them as types and groups, not individual human beings.

In our textbooks and in the words used in classroom instruction, the drama of American life is acted out by a cast made up largely of generalities. A magnificent cast it is, but highly impersonalized, as if the groups to which we have applied labels were described and defined by the labels themselves.

In the groups which pass before the eyes, the mind, and the hearts of pupils, the individual man is too frequently submerged and hidden. We create for pupils generalized concepts of the groups into which human beings can be classified, and then each pupil tends to fit the persons he meets or hears about nearly and precisely and rigidly into the stereotype of the groups to which we have introduced him.

A man is a Jew! Or a laborer! Or a New Englander! Or a conservative or a liberal! A Mexican! A Greek! An Italian! A Negro!

The difficulty in this situation arises because we do not adequately portray for pupils the marvelous variety that exists within every group. There is no typical northerner, no typical laborer, no typical black, no typical Swede or Italian or Greek, each embodying within himself the diverse qualities of his whole group. The variations within the black group range just as widely as differences between black and white groups. This type of variation exists within and between other groups.

The implications of the point being made are: That in developing materials in the proposed ethnic study centers, considerable care must be exercised to avoid the kinds of materials that will develop group stereotypes about any particular ethnic group, that we develop materials that recognize the individual dignity and worth of every person, that we show that individual differences existing in any group, and that we are careful not to make comparisons between groups based on stereotyped ideas about the particular groups under consideration. It is also important that students, regardless of their ethnic background, be free to reflect on their multicultural society and develop their own unique attitudes, interests, and culture.

With that, a couple of recommendations I might make. One important ingredient that appears to be lacking in the proposed bill is the development of interrelatedness of various ethnic groups.

America's ethnic groups do not function in a void; they are caught in the milieu of our pluralistic society and must deal with one another. Each ethnic group functions in a dynamic relationship to all others—complementing and enriching the others, but also clashing and conflicting over competing goals and values.

I would suggest that as an added dimension, each ethnic study center should also study how their group is perceived by the other groups in the multicultural society. Surveys could be conducted to determine how specific ethnic groups are stereotyped by others. Interrelationship of political, social, and economic aspirations should be studied to identify conflicts and potential conflicts as well as areas of unified concern.

In terms of interrelatedness, it must be cautioned that the study of ethnic groups encompasses much more than learning information about one's tradition, heritage, and culture. Building cultural pride may not necessitate learning much new information but may in fact come from a deeper understanding of knowledge one already holds.

More important than information are the values and attitudes represented by each ethnic group. At the very basic level, all of society's problems are outgrowth of value conflicts or are complicated by value conflicts.

I would encourage each of the ethnic centers to be directed to invest a substantial portion of its energies in the realm of values. I would also suggest at least one study center should concentrate on the interrelationship between the various groups.

At present there are over a hundred social studies projects at work around the country developing curriculum materials. But even though these projects have been functioning since the early 1960's, they have resulted in little change in school curriculum. We have learned that while new curriculum materials can be produced, there is a terrific lag in the utilization of such materials in the classroom. There is an information gap as well as a lack of knowledge on the part of the teachers as to how to use new materials effectively.

I recommend a comprehensive program of dissemination be included in the legislation, and that the necessary funds be provided. Perhaps a series of TV programs or films could be developed to highlight each of America's ethnic groups, the differences that exist within such groups, and the basis for conflict among groups.

The new ERIC clearinghouse for the social studies, regional laboratories, and professional organizations should be integrated to try and make any new materials available to the largest possible audience. These suggestions about dissemination are merely suggestive and many more avenues could be developed.

I think that most of these suggestions I made could be incorporated with some minor changes, could be incorporated in the bill, and are not antithetical to the bill itself.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you very much, Mr. Hartshorn. In the testimony you gave, you talked about "most Americans." I wonder if you want to deal in such broad strokes. When we talk about "most Americans," we wonder who they are.

Mr. HARTSHORN. Well, we can say "many Americans."

Mr. PUCINSKI. "Many Americans" is right. When we talk to a large group of some 7 million Mexican-Americans in the southwest part of America, we probably get an entirely different attitude from what we might get from our 12th generation Yankees in Northeast America, so it is a matter of where you are and who you are. One of the things you brought up is the attempt to get some interaction, and of course, the main thrust of this bill is to do that very thing.

If I thought for one moment that this bill was going to do nothing more than polarize ethnic identity, then I would say that this is legislation that we ought not even to be thinking about.

The very thing that we are trying to do is just the opposite of polarization. We have polarization now simply because of the lack of knowledge of each other, and so people distrust each other because of the religious, cultural, and ethnic conflicts, simply because they don't know much about each other.

The real tragedy of the Latin-American, who finds himself at the bottom of the social ladder so many times in America, is that just a brief time ago the Spanish were the predominant cultural force on this continent.

The same thing with the Negro. Many people have an image of the Negro as one who was brought here as a slave some five generations ago, illiterate, unemployable, and so on, totally unmindful of the fact that many of the nations of Africa have cultural histories which pre-date our own country by many centuries.

I think we can say this of many areas in the United States. The main thrust of this bill, therefore, is not to polarize the identity, but rather to open up knowledge about these various groups, so that we can start looking at America as a very inspiring mosaic.

In that way, we can bring about a greater respect for each other and in that way give some real meaning to this whole process that we call democracy.

So I like to hear you say that you would like to see incorporated in these textbooks some materials on the interaction of the myriad ethnic communities.

We are very pleased to have with us, representing the Nationality Service Center of Philadelphia, Mr. Jaipaul.

Dr. Jaipaul, would you like to proceed, and then we will have questions from the whole panel.

Dr. JAIPAUL. Honorable Congressman, although I have not been prepared to make a formal presentation, while sitting here I have collected some notes, and in support of House bill 14910 I want to congratulate and commend the sponsors of this bill for identifying this problem and doing something about it.

In the midst of the urban crisis facing America, the Nationalities Service Center of Philadelphia isolated ethnic identity as a major factor which has played a prominent role in placing our country in the ironic position of having a "melting pot" to boil over without really having melted.

Without being able to fully appreciate it now, in years to come history will show the black struggle for racial identity proved to be the turning point for America as a nation of immigrants.

The national concern on the development of ethnic history is being voiced by various nationality persons due to the fact that the present

history books are unfair to their respective nationality groups. Some of these groups say that they want as much for their group's history as the blacks are getting. This controversy will not automatically subside, but will only explode into possible backlash and further black and white polarization and possibly full-scale defamation between nationality groups unless the leadership here provides opportunities for each group's history to be placed in proper perspective.

Hopefully such efforts will provide:

1. An opportunity to compile an inventory of authentic resources for developing such histories. With some ethnic groups such efforts are already in progress.
2. An opportunity for nationality and ethnic groups to develop their history in the United States.
3. An opportunity to present and analyze the relationships between the histories of ethnic groups and political, social, cultural and economical framework of American development that formed the American background for ethnic experience.
4. An opportunity to explore the relationships of ethnic groups in the country to the major trends that have shaped life in the United States.

Ethnic history in the past has often been poorly served by historians. The result has frequently been either a neglect of ethnic contributions or an exaggeration of the role of some particular ethnic group. What has commonly been lacking is a sense of balance and proportion, and the ability to see the histories of ethnic groups against the broad background of American historical trends and the changing contributions and conditions accompanying the long-term experiences of each group.

The efforts of this committee are conceived as attempts to raise the renewed interest in ethnic history to a better level, a level that avoids jingoism and ethnocentrism and that seeks to place the history of people that have shared the American experience in the most illuminating, factual and interpretive perspective.

Clearly, there are two aspects of history. There is history and the writing of history. The writing of history is a political matter. Whenever there is a political change or some kind of revolution, whether it be political, social, economic, industrial and what-have-you, history is rewritten.

In the United States there has not been a political change or a "new freedom," but the country is going through a social revolution.

Secondly, the immigrants coming to this country have gone through a change. At first they made the effort to get lost. Now they are re-emerging. The black emphasis on history and pride in one's background is providing the leadership for a new look at history.

We ought to be careful that development of ethnic history does not become divisive. We should see this as a component of the entire history of this country and develop appropriate structures to achieve this larger goal.

In Philadelphia we are using the study of ethnic history of various groups as an instrument of intergroup relations. We have developed programed integration between public and parochial schools, which leads to improved relations between students of varying backgrounds and their parents.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We are also going to include at this point the testimony of Mr. Frank Dearness, the executive director of the American Council for Nationalities Service.

(Statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF J. FRANK DEARNESS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR NATIONALITIES SERVICE, NEW YORK, N.Y.

BACKGROUND—AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR NATIONALITIES SERVICE

The American Council for Nationalities Service (ACNS) is a national non-profit voluntary social welfare agency, incorporated under the laws of the State of New York. Its work is 50 years old. The basic objectives of ACNS are:

To help the immigrant and refugee solve his special problems of adjustment—reunite his family, learn English, know the resources of his community, make friends, become a citizen.

To assist the newcomer to understand American life and institutions, to know and value our nation's heritage, and become a fully participating citizen.

To promote American unity, develop understanding and closer association between ethnic and racial groups in our population, and further an appreciation of each group and the acceptance of all citizens as equal partners in American life.

To promote among Americans familiarity with other peoples and cultures, and thus to aid in creating the kind of intercultural and international understanding essential to the development of a world community.

To utilize the many ties which American nationality groups have with other lands and peoples in order to make the United States, its policies and democratic ideals better understood abroad.

To establish and maintain the major cities of the United States centers of service and fellowship for all nationalities.

To foster public interest in immigration and naturalization policies which are sound, humanitarian, non-discriminatory, and in harmony with the international obligations of the United States; to watch the administration of such laws with a view to improving them, promoting their effectiveness, and preventing hardship and injustice.

ACNS works to fulfill these objectives through 36 member agencies and a broad program of national services.

Its member agencies, usually called International Institutes or Nationalities Service Centers, are centers of service and fellowship for all nationalities. They are located in 36 cities where large numbers of foreign born are concentrated—from Boston and Philadelphia to Detroit, Cleveland and Chicago and on to Los Angeles, San Francisco and Honolulu. Generally in their own buildings, they have staffs who speak foreign languages, provide the newcomer with needed information and assistance, including technical-legal guidance on immigration and naturalization, and case work counselling around problems of adjustment. Clubs and classes are conducted and they carry forward community programs and activities aimed at better intergroup understanding. Many offer classes in English language and citizenship in cooperation with local boards of education.

In addition, through its New York headquarters ACNS reaches newcomers throughout the country by means of foreign language press and radio. It also maintains a variety of national services and publications which benefit the foreign born and assist hundreds of communities.

ACNS ENDORSES ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS BILL (H.R. 14910)

On January 22, 1970 the Board of Directors of the American Council for Nationalities Service, after careful study, voted to endorse and support the general principles and objectives of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill. The Board commends the intent of the bill, and feels it can provide a positive force in reducing inter-group conflict and ethnic alienation.

As Representative Pucinski pointed out in introducing H.R. 14910, it is essential that all minority groups be given an opportunity to develop a positive sense of identity—a good feeling about who they are. This is true, not only for black-Americans but for all other ethnic groups as well. If social progress is to continue and racial polarization reduced it is important that government recognize and respond to the legitimate concerns of ethnic America. H.R. 14910 can be an important first step in that direction.

ACNS has a strong historic commitment to the concept of ethnic studies and the need to expose all Americans, especially young people, to the many ethnic groups which have played such an important role in the development of our nation.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ETHNIC STUDIES

Throughout its 50 year history ACNS has worked to help integrate the foreign born into the mainstream of American life and to encourage intergroup cooperation and understanding. In pursuing these ends ACNS and its predecessor organizations have attempted to build on the strengths and values of the different cultures which immigrants have brought to the United States.

We have recognized that before an individual can successfully compete in mainstream America he must possess positive self-image—a good feeling about who he is and a strong sense of self-worth. An important source of strength and self-identity lies in an individual's cultural heritage and its positive recognition by the broader community. This is true for all minority group members, foreign and native born. To be an American should mean divesting oneself of his cultural identity and his historic roots in a common set of values and customs. These can provide a source of pride and strength which stimulates personal growth and achievement.

ACNS and its 36 member agencies have traditionally provided opportunities for ethnic groups to acquaint each other and the broader community with the unique characteristics of their culture and the contributions each has made to the enrichment of American society. ACNS has encouraged the recent upsurge of interest and pride of all nationality and racial groups in their backgrounds and heritages, and warmly endorses the efforts of Congressman Pucinski in introducing the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act (H.R. 14910).

ACNS and its member agencies have over the years sponsored a large number of programs designed to highlight the many and varied accomplishments of different cultures in the United States, and will continue to do so in cooperation with others who share our desire for an American unity based on equality and justice, and broad enough to include all of the elements in our population.

Ethnic studies programs can play an important role in improving intergroup relations. They can help all Americans to better understand their own history and develop greater group pride. Ethnic studies can also help overcome traditional stereotypes and achieve greater respect for all Americans, and should be a basic component of the educational program for all students. This goal can only be achieved with the help of federal resources and the recognition on the part of the federal establishment that America's nationality groups warrant full recognition for their historic and current contributions to American life.

ACNS ACTIVITIES IN ETHNIC STUDIES

Member agencies of ACNS provide a wide range of specific programs related to individual nationality groups. Various types of cultural events aimed at highlighting a particular ethnic group are part of their ongoing activities as well as the development of ethnic clubs aimed at preserving particular aspects of a foreign culture. As part of the general routine considerable effort is expended with both children and adults to highlight the individual's own cultural heritage, and to make the broader community aware of the important contributions each ethnic group has made to American society.

As part of its public educational efforts ACNS each year selects an outstanding American of foreign birth as the recipient of the Golden Door Award. The award, which is presented at a dinner in New York City, is aimed at fostering a greater awareness that varied cultures contribute to the richness of our American heritage. Recipients have included symphony conductor Leopold Stokowski, labor leader David Dubinsky, motion picture pioneer Samuel Goldwyn, industrialist-inventor Frederic O. Hess, and impresario Sol Hurok.

Among its efforts to promote greater inter-group understanding ACNS is currently co-sponsoring a Black Studies Institute Series, in cooperation with the Black Heritage Association. Panels of white and black leaders explore various aspects of African history, the black experience in America, civil rights, etc.

For a number of years a program called the American Common focused on different aspects of specific cultures and brought broad cross sections of the New York City population together.

With the assistance of ACNS several member agencies have engaged in extensive ethnic studies programs in cooperation with local school departments. As

one example, the International Institute of Detroit has developed a program for children in social studies classes in the suburban schools around Detroit.

The children are bussed to the International Institute, where they spend the entire day learning about one particular culture. They meet and talk with people from the country, are exposed to folk arts and artifacts, eat a typical meal from the country, and by the end of the day have a much better understanding about the particular ethnic group and its traditions and contributions to America. The Institute hopes to include the Detroit public schools in this program, but at the moment there are no funds available to bus the children to the Institute's headquarters. The Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill would make this type of experience available to all children rather than just the limited number who can now participate.

In addition to work with the students the Detroit Institute also conducts an ongoing teacher training program for social studies instructors from Detroit and neighboring school departments. This program is designed to train teachers in ethnic studies.

The Detroit programs have been highly successful, and teachers report that the programs help create greater respect for each other's ethnic heritage among students. The Detroit experience helps to highlight the need for a comprehensive national effort to expose every youngster to the varied cultures which make up the fabric of American society and which H.R. 14910 would make possible.

In Philadelphia the Nationalities Service Center, another ACNS member agency, has developed an experimental World Cultures course, in cooperation with the Catholic Archdiocesan Superintendent of Schools and the Philadelphia Board of Education. Two schools are currently involved—William Penn Girls High School and John W. Hallahan Catholic Girls High School. Considerable interest has been generated, and several additional schools have indicated interest in the program.

Classes are programed five days a week and include weekly joint meetings of the classes from each school at the Nationalities Service Center. In order to examine similarities as well as to make differences more understandable, various aspects of world cultures are explored simultaneously, and a variety of teaching aids and materials are being developed. It is hoped that eventually a similar program will be available to all school children in Philadelphia.

ACNS is convinced, based on years of experience in promoting greater awareness and understanding of varying cultures, that inter-group cooperation is greatly facilitated when there is mutual respect based on knowledge of cultural differences, similarities, and contributions. While ACNS and its member agencies attempt to reach as many individuals as possible, the total impact of our work is limited—"a drop in the bucket." We believe strongly in the value of ethnic studies and would hope to play an important role in the implementation of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill. Through such a program the skills and expertise acquired over many, many years of service to ethnic America could be made available to serve a much broader public.

SUMMARY

ACNS strongly believes in the value of ethnic studies programs for school children, and supports the principles and objectives of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill.

ACNS does suggest that consideration be given to the establishment of *comprehensive centers* which would be concerned with a number of various ethnic groups rather than with just one. It is important that possible competition between ethnic groups be reduced and that a sense of equity prevail. Comprehensive centers would allow for the inclusion of Black and Spanish-speaking cultures, as well as those of other groups, and would provide a further depolarizing effect.

ACNS believes that intergroup relations are improved when individuals respect themselves and others and when each group is given recognition and its positive accomplishments and contributions are acknowledged.

Ethnic studies are a proper subject for inclusion in school curricula, and the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill can make such courses more meaningful and relevant, and with some modification should be enacted into law.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We understand his inability to be here, but we will put the testimony in the record at this point.

We also have a statement here by Mr. Lopez, director of the Clare-

mont College's Mexican-American studies center, who likewise could not be with us, and he said that you would be speaking for him and the institute in your testimony, but we will include his testimony at this point in the record also.

(Statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF RONALD W. LOPEZ, DIRECTOR, MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDIES CENTER,
CLAREMONT COLLEGES

There are an estimated seven million Mexican Americans in the United States today. Approximately 90 per cent of this large minority live in five Southwestern states (Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas). The Mexican American heritage is an old and rich one. Further, it is substantially distinct from the heritage of most Americans. The history of Mexican-Americans in the United States antedates all others (with the exception of native Americans). Settlement in the Southwest began in the early 16th century long before the landing of the pilgrims. Despite this fact the history of this country is commonly treated as if it began on the eastern seaboard. The history of Mexican-Americans is commonly treated as if it were non-existent. Ignoring Mexican-American history is even stranger when one takes a slightly different perspective of this minority. There are, for example, over 40 individual states whose population is less than the total population of Mexican-Americans. In Los Angeles alone the Mexican-American population is as great or greater than the total population of at least 10 states. Yet there are countless Americans today who have never heard of us. The Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill (H.R. 14910) is a step in the proper direction to alter the present circumstances and obviate some of the problems of visibility of Mexican-Americans as well as other ethnic groups.

Those of us involved in Mexican American studies are doing everything that we can to accomplish precisely what the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers bill proposes to facilitate. We continuously encounter many difficulties. The two most common difficulties are the question of the legitimacy of ethnic studies and the lack of resources. In our case (Mexican-American Studies Center at the Claremont Colleges) the question of legitimacy within the realm of higher education is constantly before us. Obviously we must begin in higher education if we are to have the competent people to operate and work in such activity as is proposed in the bill. There is, moreover, an answer to the question of legitimacy.

Number one, there is extant today in most of the major institutions of higher learning throughout the country a department or center or major in one or another field of area studies. I refer, of course, to Asian Studies, Latin-American Studies, and now with increasing frequency, American Studies.

Latin-American studies is an extraordinary field. It purports to cover at some level the social, political, economic, and historical aspects of some 21 countries. The total number of people, the diverse governments and distinctive histories make that field appear as a complete improbability. Asian Studies, naturally is the same problem compounded many times over. Obviously, the notion that such enormous areas are manageable as majors or fields of concentration stems from the parochial bias within the United States that leads to the lumping together of all people that somehow have something in common. It's also true, of course, that such an approach is designed to expose students to as much as possible within the limits of time and resources.

The main point is that these fields are interdisciplinary, and, in the context of academic quality, grossly inadequate. Mexican-American Studies, by virtue of its specificity provides an opportunity for the development of a thorough and in-depth body of knowledge that is interdisciplinary in nature. Because it is interdisciplinary and because there is the potential for a relatively thorough exposure, Mexican-American Studies provides an otherwise difficult to find route towards the development of a comprehensive approach to undergraduate education. This brings me to the second point in the prospective of this legitimacy of ethnic studies.

The narrowness in scope of undergraduate majors and the pretext that someone with a B.A. in one of the present disciplines can claim to have an education is ludicrous. Where does one draw the distinction between psychology and sociology? Between anthropology and either? The combinations are myriad. Certainly, there are contrived distinctions but these distinctions are definitely artificial. I have been told over and over again that man is an economic animal.

I agree. But man is also biological, psychological, political and an etc. animal. The weight of what kind of animal he is depends entirely on the perspective. The perspective from the majority of the social sciences is conspicuously two-dimensional. Some of the social sciences do have a tendency towards a three-dimensional man but the re-creation or description of a whole man is extraordinarily complex. Further, because of the complexity of dealing with man on a continuum our efforts at definition can be safely considered inadequate. Man is a living animal also and this means that the variable of time must be considered in each dimension. Were we to attempt a vector analysis of man we would certainly find ourselves in a most gruesome mess. Yet, I believe that the possibility for such a description is not altogether impossible. The directions and dynamics of our intellectual activity today, however, seem to me to be leading us away from that possibility however remote it may be. The fact is that real life, or living man, simply is not neatly compartmentalized along disciplinary (i.e., psych, soc., etc.) lines.

The ideal approach towards an undergraduate education would be a comprehensive one that included consideration of all or as many perspectives as possible. There are different ways to approach this. One might, for example, take a series of historical events and discuss them from as many vantages as practical. The same approach could be taken towards current issues and in many instances towards abstractions of various sorts.

The ethnic studies programs might facilitate this procedure because of its interdisciplinary nature and the apparent specificity. Further, the drama with which the new curriculum is being added and the number of prerogatives it is being allowed provide opportunities for innovation on a scale that is unprecedented. There are, therefore, two basic responses to the question of the legitimacy of ethnic studies: first, the presence of existing interdisciplinary programs and second, the questionable legitimacy of existing disciplines. These are, I think, fundamentally very superficial responses. The question to which the response is directed, however, is at least equally superfluous. The real problem revolves around the more basic question and certainly more legitimate one of what we mean by undergraduate education. Our difficulty in responding to the question of the legitimacy of ethnic studies is demonstrative of the extent to which we have been conditioned to accept the rather artificial distinctions among disciplines. Since the ultimate justification for the present disciplines seems to be the creation of an atmosphere or situation designed to promote intellectual activity within a structured system we find ourselves pledging our allegiance to the niche we have chosen within that structure for our individual efforts. As the state-of-the-art within that niche increases in sophistication or complexity we find ourselves thrust into a more rarefied atmosphere. That is, we find ourselves dealing in the subjunctive mood about ideas that are also in the subjunctive. The deeper we delve into our niche the greater the quantity of subjunctives. As the number of subjunctives increase so does the distance between what we are dealing with and reality. In a given real situation if the number of conditionals or ifs that are met is high enough there will be a corresponding increase in the affinity between the theory and reality. I believe that we can provide an experience (undergraduate education) that will better prepare those who plan to pursue their niche in greater depth. That is, an experience that will increase the probability of the probability of an increased affinity between theory and reality.

It is in this context that Mexican-American or ethnic studies can play a role. So long as we make the assumption that the experimental and theoretical are not incompatible and act accordingly we will be able to enrich the educational experience of young people. We must eschew the notion that the two are mutually exclusive *in toto* if we want to prepare people for a life-style of continuing education.

It is in this context that the Mexican-American Studies Center at the Claremont Colleges (MASC) operates. We at MASC are dealing with business of education and we are constantly conscious of our orientation. MASC has already formulated its plans for the future and hopes to begin full operation next year. There are three basic thrusts to MASC's proposed activities all of whom are viewed as being thoroughly interdependent. Those thrusts are 1) the development of a program in graduate studies, 2) the expansion and balancing of the program in undergraduate studies, and 3) the establishment of an experimental elementary school. The third thrust, the establishment of an experimental elementary school, is the one which could be the most affected by the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill. While MASC already is an ethnic studies center by

definition it will begin next year to devote energies and resources to the development of curriculum, teaching techniques, and teacher training techniques as they directly relate to Mexican-American elementary school children.

The intention of establishing an experimental school is to create an atmosphere of maximum freedom for experimentation in curricular design. The goal is a system that is effective with Mexican American youngsters both because of content and because of method or form. Administratively the school and its activities will incorporate a system of documentation to facilitate dissemination of information.

It is important for the legislature to understand that those of us engaged in educational activities relating to ethnic minorities are, by what we consider to be necessity, going ahead with the types of activities that the Ethnic Heritage Studies Center bill will promote and facilitate. I mentioned earlier that one of our main problems is a lack of resources. The legislature would be appropriately accepting its responsibility by providing the resources necessary. The bill is a worthy one and should be supported and should be passed. In fact, its primary weakness lies in the size of the requested appropriation which seems far too little in view of the great need.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Now, Dr. Ramirez, I was wondering if you could perhaps use your imagination by taking a particular group and giving us some idea how you envision the group in the context of the ethnic studies centers?

Let's take, for instance, the Spanish-Americans, the Mexicans, because you, I believe, are best informed in that particular category. How would you envision this?

Let's assume that the University of California, or New Mexico, were to establish a center of this kind. What would be its practical application, in your judgment? How would it operate, what would it do?

How would it fill an unmet need? That is the most important thing.

Dr. RAMIREZ. I think one of the things to which I would give the highest priority is to take those people in the Mexican-American community who have felt the most alienated and yet who possess resources and information that can be used in the curriculum that these centers are developing. I would bring these people in, and have them give us the information, hire them as consultants, hire them as curriculum writers, to give us the information for this curriculum.

I think to utilize these resources in the community, which are presently not being used, and which are presently alienated, because so far very few people have said, "You have strengths which are not being used," I would give that the highest priority.

Of course, training teachers, I would also make that the second item on my list of priorities, and emphasizing contact between the community people and the potential trainee. I think this would be very important.

Sensitizing teachers, I think that would be my next highest priority.

The third one would be to make sure that these curriculum materials get to the schools, that we provide consultant services to them in those cases where teachers want help in teaching them, or have certain questions about the materials.

I think those three would be my highest priorities.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Those needs are not being met today?

Dr. RAMIREZ. No, sir.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Even under the various programs that we have under title I, title II, title III, and title VII, the bilingual—well, in bilingual, they are struggling to get money to teach there.

You feel that there are no resources available now for this kind of activity?

Dr. RAMIREZ. They are not being done. The resources may be very, very minimal. They may be there in a very, very minimal amount, but they are not being used. This is not being done.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You wrote an excellent paper for us on the educational needs of the 1970's, which is going to be incorporated in a compendium we are developing.

What would be the effect of education at the elementary and secondary level on the background of the Mexican-Americans? Would it help in the actual teaching processes in all other subjects?

Dr. RAMIREZ. I think we can use a lot of these materials to teach concepts. Why not?

Looking at the college scene, many of our college students are now moving into the social sciences. They want to be teachers, and they want to teach social science. I think this is a very excellent way of providing historical materials that can be used by these future teachers to teach any particular concept that we like.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You think that in the case of the Spanish-speaking Americans, do you think that materials like this ought to be used in both languages?

Dr. RAMIREZ. By all means. I would want the non-Spanish-speaking child in the classroom to know as much about the Mexican-American ethnic background as he knows about his own, and, of course, I would want those children who cannot speak English in the classroom to be able to appreciate what is being done.

Mr. RADCLIFFE. How about the other way around? Those who could not speak Spanish, shouldn't these programs be truly bilingual?

Dr. RAMIREZ. Yes; I think it would be very valuable. I have run into very many people in the Southwest who say, "I wish I would have learned Spanish in school. It would be extremely useful to me."

Many people have not realized that in the Southwest we live in a bicultural society.

Mr. RADCLIFFE. We have looked at some of the bilingual programs. We were struck by the fact that they are very successful and very good, but still are only on a completely experimental basis.

Dr. RAMIREZ. That is correct.

Mr. RADCLIFFE. How do you account for the—the only word I can use is "blindness"—the blindness of the educators over the years? Is there some peculiarity of educators that makes them unaware of obvious needs which any citizen ought to be aware of?

Dr. RAMIREZ. I guess it is just the philosophy of the times, and the philosophy of the times said, "the melting pot."

Mr. PUCINSKI. Isn't that really the crux of the thing?

Dr. RAMIREZ. That is it.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We had drummed into us in this country for a hundred years this totally fallacious concept that we are a melting pot. We are not a melting pot. You don't take human beings and melt them into a single monolith.

You might do it with machines, and you might be able to take silver and melt it and recoin it, and you might even take some beef and make a stew out of it. But I don't think you can take people.

The fact that a lot of people happen to be born on a piece of real estate identified with the United States does not really remove from them a certain inheritance and culture that they have inherited from

their forebears, and I think we are now paying the price for this neglect in this country. As a matter of fact, Dr. Ramirez, I wonder if you would like to comment on this, because my own feeling on this is—maybe I am standing alone now, but history will catch up with it—I personally think we have waited too long on this.

Mr. Radcliffe properly asked a question, "Where have the educators been to have ignored this very serious need of human beings to know something about themselves?"

What people learn about themselves they may learn from a father or mother, or a grandfather, or grandmother maybe. They know absolutely nothing about the cultural heritage that makes up their psyche.

I think to a great extent we have been dominated in this country by the Puritan ethos which rejected everything—in the arts, in the sciences, in literature. They viewed everything with great suspicion and scorn, and viewed everything as "foreign," and as a result the extent to which they did this is manifested, and that is perhaps demonstrated best in the Latin-American, and the treatment we give the Latin-American in the United States, or the Indian, or the Oriental, or the Negro, or the Slavic groups.

You either were willing to accept the melting pot, permit yourself to be melted into the Puritan ethos, or else you were un-American. You were rejected as a foreigner, as Mr. Hartshorn pointed out.

I think we are now paying the price for this. I think it is no accident that you have young people going through all sorts of aberrations, commonly described as the hippie and the yippie and what-not, simply because they are looking for an identity that has been denied to them in their classroom.

We have been on this 100-year binge of trying to deny human beings the identity of their own cultural background, and we have tried to mold them, as I said earlier, homogenize them, as if they were apples and pears or a pound of butter, instead of recognizing that they are human beings with their own cultural values, and cultural standards.

I honestly feel that this legislation is 30 years behind its time, 40 or 50 years behind its time.

We are trying today to repair some damage that we should have been repairing many years ago, and I can tell you this: In my judgment we can't delay very much longer, and I would like to get your opinions on this, as a panel of witnesses.

Mr. Hartshorn?

Mr. HARTSHORN. I think I could only concur in everything you said on this matter. I recall some material we published a while back called "The Gray Flannel Cover on the American History Textbook," and I think the whole publishing industry is caught in a bind in this way.

The type of publishing which we have in this country—I am not criticizing the free enterprise system—but the publishers find themselves producing a book for a national market. They must have a little bit to appeal to everybody, but not much depth.

There are conflicts involved in this business that we must study, and we must recognize. It isn't all Pollyannaish. Much of the work that has gone on in the schools, I think, has been bad—I haven't worked in the Latin-American area—but in Upstate New York, what do you find them doing? The children in the elementary schools studying a

little bit about dances, a little bit about the kinds of foods they eat that might be different, and a little bit about the way they dress, but really no understanding of what culture is.

It has been a superficial kind of job that has been done. The textbook publishers have not furnished the materials.

I would set up these centers, to answer your earlier question, which multiethnic groups in them. I would have sensitivity training sections in encounter groups where these people could study coming in contact with one another, learn what good intergroup behavior is, and I would try to develop something much more than a traditional textbook, but going in and utilizing some of the advances we have made in technology in the electronic age we are in, filmstrips, transparencies, all kinds of materials of this kind in addition to the straight reading materials. Because for many of these people reading materials get you nowhere. They are not prepared for them, and they turn them off.

It is going to take some unique work in this particular area to develop kinds of material that really turn people on. Certainly it is needed. I would have to say that I was a product of this melting pot thesis. When I went through college, this is what we were taught, that you put the kids through the public school system, and at the end of the line they came off the line like model T Fords. Everybody was alike.

It is difficult to explain why so late we have come to realize the melting pot thesis is fallacious in the first place, and it won't work in the second place.

If I had to look over the projects in the field of the social studies, you find few of them touching on this subject. Some of them, caused by recent developments in our country, for material is being developed on the Blacks. But if you look over a list of projects advanced in the Office of Education, you find relatively little on this business of ethnic studies and the interrelationship problem between the ethnic groups that are causing the problems in our society today.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Jaipaul?

Dr. JAIPAUL. I agree with my copanelists as well as with you, sir.

I want to provide empirical evidence that proves what we are saying here is practical. It has been practiced on a small scale in Philadelphia. We have developed three experiments—one at high school level, one for elementary school, and one for ethnic leaders.

In the first case, we have taken four different cultures to make a comparative study. We have identified eight or nine values to be compared. We bring in the indigenous resources to do this.

The common values we have identified are geography, history, politics, external relations and science and technology, and so forth. It is not that the 10th graders involved study one culture and go over to the next. They study one value at a time and compare and relate and find out commonalities and differences about this in other cultures. We find indigenous resources for this, because the traditional resources are not there.

Suppose we are talking about religion such as Taoism, Hinduism, Christianity and Islam. We bring persons who practice these religions, and can tell about them.

Sensitivity training sessions are also part of this study. We have added another facet to it. That is, we have combined two schools. One

is William Penn public school and the other is Hallahan Catholic Girls parochial school. To the difference between cultural values, we have added different values of public and parochial schools.

We have found after 5 or 6 months experience that this experiment works and the 10th graders are relating to each other very well. They come from various nationality and racial groups.

At the fifth grade level, we approached Sacred Heart (parochial) School and Abigail Vare (public) School, and developed a program of teaching ethnic history of the groups involved as part of American history.

It was interesting when we asked fifth graders. "What is your nationality?" and some said Polish, some Irish and so on. There were others who said both Polish and German, because the parents were of different backgrounds.

Suppose the students are talking about the Polish contribution to the Philadelphia area. The parents bring story books, cultural things, they cook meals for them and so on. It has given the fifth graders of the two schools their identity and pride and they are relating to each other so well.

Then we have a group of different nationality leaders: the Ukrainian, Polish, Scottish, Welsh, black, Indian, and Scandinavian. They are creating a consortium to develop ethnic histories. Clearly, the group would be developing its resources for this undertaking.

Here, what we are showing is that it can be done cooperatively, and if there is anyone who feels it can be used for polarization, I think otherwise.

If our larger goal is to develop a complete history of the United States, my suggestion here would be to establish regional centers based on the cooperation between educational institutions and several ethnic groups that are predominant in that particular area. Both will supplement and complement each other and also serve as balances and checks. One will provide the know-how, and the other provides the content. This way no one group can capitalize and use it for some kind of political ends.

So these are some of my suggestions. We feel very encouraged by what we have seen in Philadelphia; even though it is at an experimental stage.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How many youngsters are participating in this program now?

Dr. JAIPAUL. At 10th grade level there are 63 and at the fifth grade about 105.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Is this an experimental program?

Dr. JAIPAUL. Yes; this is instituted by our center.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How are you financing it?

Dr. JAIPAUL. We are financing it by passing a hat. This is the main problem. We are going to various foundations, individuals, wherever we can find money. Now we have been flooded with requests from suburban schools to pair the schools for next year.

We don't have money for next year to even keep the present staff what to talk of expanding.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What is the reaction of the students participating in this experimental program?

Dr. JAIPAUL. When we had the first sensitivity training for the 10th graders, we took them to a synagogue. They said this course was what

they could not imagine. "Why did you not start it earlier?" summarizes their feelings. Among the fifth graders, there were some Puerto Ricans and black students who were withdrawn from the schools. Now they are equal partners.

To give you an illustration, one of the mothers, who is Jewish, was actually opposed to her children going to join the Catholic school-children. She was called into the principal's office and explained. You will not believe that she was the first one to bring her resources and tell students what is Hanukkah and how it is celebrated. She cooked potato pancakes for 90 students and others that day.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you anticipate expanding this program to more youngsters as you move along?

Dr. JAIPAUL. We have been requested by 10 pairs of schools. We don't have resources for next year to commit ourselves.

Mr. PUCINSKI. When you say you don't have resources, you don't have the money, or you don't have the material?

Dr. JAIPAUL. We don't have the money. As of now, the speakers are volunteer. We want to build in the colleges of education this kind of cadre of people who would be available to the entire school system. We have a small staff of three persons who are carrying on this burden. We would like to carry on, but we cannot make it for next year because of lack of funds from United Fund and other sources.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Dr. Ramirez, what do you think of that program?

Dr. RAMIREZ. I think it is wonderful, and I wish I would have thought of it myself.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We probably will want to go up to Philadelphia and take a look at this. It sounds like an exciting experiment.

Dr. JAIPAUL. We welcome you to Philadelphia, and we are planning to bring these 10th graders to Washington on the 18th of March, if you are here, and if we can bring these students, you can talk to them yourself.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Well, perhaps we might want to talk to you about this and see. We might want to have these young people up here before the committee to tell us about their experiences. We might want to do that.

Dr. JAIPAUL. Sure.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I would like to see what their reactions to this are.

Mr. JENNINGS. I would like to ask about the Philadelphia project. What happens to the child in 10th grade who is made up of six or eight nationalities, and the other students are being asked to identify one nationality and talk about that nationality? Does that child feel left out, or confused?

Dr. JAIPAUL. No; we have developed a formula that the origin will be traced to father, so there is no confusion. Whatever the father's nationality is, that will be his child's.

Mr. JENNINGS. What if the father is an Anglo, and has been here 12 generations, or what if the father has four different strains?

Dr. JAIPAUL. We haven't encountered such a case, but we did find confusion among the fifth graders, and we told them, "Tell of your father's."

These two schools are predominantly Polish, Irish, Puerto Rican, blacks, Scottish, English, Germans, and Italians.

Mr. JENNINGS. Thank you.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Our minority counsel, Mr. Radcliffe, raised that question yesterday. He is part Cherokee, and his wife is French-Canadian, and he was wondering what his youngsters would be looking for in the way of identity. Under your plan, it is the father's background that would be the basis for the program, is that it?

Dr. JAIPAUL. That is right. We don't want to confuse the child more than he or she is already confused.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Would you like to tell us what the reaction is among the young people themselves in this kind of a program?

Dr. JAIPAUL. I think I can illustrate from a little story. There was an Irish couple who did not want their child to participate. So a special arrangement was made for their child to go to another session during the period when they have joint classes. The pressure of the child was so much that the Irish couple is now one of the promoters of this program.

We have had parents and teachers meeting on the program and some of the parents have said that "I had not known anything about Ireland, or Polish history, and now I have to, because my child comes and asks questions. This has given me also an opportunity to learn something about our nationality history."

One mother especially requested a book on her nationality which was not available in the public library; and she got it ordered.

It is tremendous when you see what the parents are getting out of it. They are getting identification for themselves more than the child is getting at this time.

Dr. RAMIREZ. To me that is one of the most important things, because we are employing parents to teach teachers Spanish who don't know Spanish, and we find that parents begin to learn English, and that they begin to get interested in education. They want to go to high school and finish high school and go on to college, and I think that is tremendous.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Radcliffe?

Mr. RADCLIFFE. I saw this problem. We encountered it in an area you would not think of it usually, in northern New England. It really is a tragedy. I taught history, for 1 year way up in northern Maine, the kids there are, many of them, French-Canadian. The parents are French-Canadian, or they are Yankees.

I had the feeling that, first of all, American history was not being adequately taught. I had majored in history. I felt, secondly, that the cultural history, which is the most important part of history, was absolutely neglected, because first of all the French-Canadian kids had no understanding of their own culture other than the relatively little they had gotten from church and, secondly the culture there is both French and Yankee. It is not one or the other. It is both traditions.

So in the course of robbing one set of children of their cultural identity, with about the same results as you see with the Spanish-speaking children, you rob the other set of children also, and you end up with a very inadequate presentation of American history.

I feel, for example, that except for a few silly stories about Daniel Boone, few children with a southern Appalachian background really know their cultural heritage, and they are Anglo-Saxon.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Well, I think all of you have made an excellent point here.

Mr. HARTSHORN. It occurs to me there is one bit of work going on that you might want to check into. I am not too familiar with it, but that is the Southwest Regional Lab, which has been sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education, in Austin, Tex. They are working with the Chicanos, with the blacks down there, and in Louisiana they are including the French group, too, and they have been operating under a fairly substantial grant for 2 or 3 years.

I know they have materials they are testing out in the schools now, but I don't know the dimensions of it. It is related to this bill, and probably should be investigated.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Very good. I am very grateful to you all, Dr. Hartshorn, Dr. Ramirez and Dr. Jaipaul, to you for your contributions here. We are going to see if we can't get this session through. It is obvious to me that with your limited resources you gentlemen have already laid down some pretty good programs.

There will be, of course, those who will say, "You are already doing it, so the legislation is not necessary." But you are doing it under the most difficult conditions. You are using paperclips and Scotch tape in Philadelphia, and Dr. Ramirez is struggling along with his program.

It just seems to me that perhaps we ought to give serious consideration to providing assistance for the development of this curriculum.

I was particularly interested in hearing your comparison of the lower grades with the upper grades, Mr. Jaipaul. I am inclined to think these studies ought to be in at the earliest school year level and go right on through the high school level.

I am most grateful to you, gentleman, for coming down and contributing toward what I hope will be the successful passage of this legislation.

The subcommittee is adjourned until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 11:50 a.m., the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene at 9 a.m. of the following day, Wednesday, Feb. 18, 1970.)

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1970

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
GENERAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 9 a.m., pursuant to adjournment, in room 2257, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Roman C. Pucinski (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Pucinski, Brademas, Hawkins, Scheuer, Quie, and Bell.

Staff members present: John F. Jennings, majority counsel, Alexandra Kisla, clerk, and Charles W. Radcliffe, minority counsel for education.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The subcommittee will come to order.

We resume consideration this morning of H.R. 14910, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Center bill.

We are very pleased to have with us this morning as our first witness Mr. Irving M. Levine, director of Urban Projects of the American Jewish Committee, and I would like to ask our colleague Mr. Scheuer to introduce Mr. Levine. Mr. Levine, why don't you take your place at the table. Dr. Liu, we will be having you join Mr. Levine as soon as Mr. Brademas gets here.

Mr. SCHEUER. I am happy to welcome Irving Levine. He is a long-time friend and colleague of mine. He has had a distinguished reputation in the field of group relations and urban problems, and I know we will all be interested in his testimony. It is a great pleasure in having you.

Mr. LEVINE. Thank you, Congressman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I would like to say the reason we had to start this morning at 9 o'clock is because we are having a very important Democratic caucus at 10, and I know that most of our colleagues on the majority side would like to participate in the caucus. So we may have to interrupt our proceeding briefly this morning around 10 o'clock for the sake of the caucus and then come back and resume.

I am delighted we also have our colleague from Indiana, Mr. Brademas, here this morning, and I would like to call upon him to introduce to the committee Professor Liu, director of Social Science Research and Training Laboratory at the University of Notre Dame.

Dr. Liu, if you would like to join Mr. Levine at the witness table, we would like to have our colleague Mr. Brademas introduce Dr. Liu.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this courtesy and am very pleased to welcome Dr. Liu to the subcommittee this morning. He is a very distinguished sociologist at one of the great universities

of the United States, the University of Notre Dame, and is a good personal friend of mine and has made many contributions to greater understanding of some of the relationships between the discipline of sociology and resolving important social problems, and his presence here this morning, I think, is a good indication of a sense of concern about the practical problems in the American society that is increasingly to be found among American sociologists, and I am delighted to see you here this morning.

Dr. LIU. Thank you.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I might say, Professor, there were two phenomena in the history of Notre Dame which are of great significance; one is Knute Rockne, and the other is John Brademas, and I have not said which sets first with the university, but I am inclined to think the record would tilt on the side of Mr. Brademas when all of the figures are in. I know of no man that works harder for university than our colleague Mr. Brademas.

Mr. BRADEMAs. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Why don't we start with your testimony, Dr. Levine, and then ask Dr. Liu for his, and then have a discussion here on the legislation.

A PANEL CONSISTING OF IRVING M. LEVINE, DIRECTOR OF URBAN PROJECTS, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE; WILLIAM T. LIU, DIRECTOR, SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH AND TRAINING LABORATORY, UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME; AND RUDOLPH J. VECOLI, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR IMMIGRATION STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AND PRESIDENT, AMERICAN-ITALIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Mr. PUCINSKI. Now your whole statement will be inserted at this point. I notice it is a rather lengthy statement, and I have read it and it is an excellent statement. You can proceed in any manner you wish. You may either summarize your statement so we have more time to discuss the aspects of the bill, or you can proceed with your statement any way you prefer.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF IRVING M. LEVINE, DIRECTOR OF URBAN PROJECTS, THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman, the American Jewish Committee is happy to appear before this subcommittee to discuss the question of ethnicity in American life and the possible role of government in this area. Our 65 years of experience as a pioneer Jewish human relations organization has involved us in the two aspects of this field which are addressed by H.R. 14910 which is now before you. Ethnic identity and intergroup relations need to be examined, and our knowledge of them deepened, in order to reduce group tensions and promote a true cultural pluralism in this country.

The American Jewish Committee's history in this field began with a concern for Jews throughout the world, and our early program was one to protect Jewish freedoms and security. Over the years, we began to see clearly the need to make American society secure for *all* people if any minority group was to be truly free. Thus, we have been in the forefront of the fights for civil rights, civil liberties, and full and equal opportunity. Those struggles, as we all know so well, are not yet over, despite the admirable legislation and programs which do exist. We will continue our efforts to achieve the promise of America for all groups and for all individuals.

The program of the American Jewish Committee in this field is broad and multi-pronged, involving us in national and international activities and in programs in the 110 cities where we have local chapters and units. It includes combatting discrimination in education, housing and employment; reducing racial tension; experimenting with new answers to the urban crisis; promoting Christian-Jewish understanding; and helping Jews develop a sense of their own identity. We try to bring scientific knowledge to bear on practical problems, and developing action models to test our insights.

To deepen our understanding of pluralism and relate it to the pressing inter-group problems in our cities, the AJC recently began a pilot project focused on America's white ethnic groups. In June 1968 we convened the first National Consultation on Ethnic America at Fordham University, a meeting at which more than 150 scholars and practitioners began exploring new approaches to the problems of these groups. Since then, similar consultations have taken place in several cities, most recently in Chicago when 300 people met to discuss these subjects.

Our concern with this program is twofold: First, we recognized that the nation's leadership cannot continue to ignore the white ethnic groups if we are to avoid dangerously destructive polarization over issues of social change. We have heard many ethnic communities complain that their needs and aspirations are being overlooked in the analyses and programs related to the "urban crisis." Correct or not, these perceptions have made it increasingly difficult to achieve the nation's present social goals.

Secondly, we see an urgent need to broaden our national understanding of our country's diversity. Our own analysis of American society cast serious doubt on the popular conception of the "melting pot," and the distinguished participants in our 1968 National Consultation confirmed that doubt.

A staff study for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence entitled, *The History of Violence in America*, points up the "historical amnesia" which has prevented the development of realistic approaches to inter-group problems. The authors say, "The myth of the melting pot has obscured the great degree to which Americans have historically identified with their national citizenship through their myriad subnational affiliations."

The Violence Commission report reminds us of the dangers of extreme separatism when it states that this group identification "has meant inevitable group competition, friction and conflict." What we at the American Jewish Committee are trying to do through our work on what we call the "new pluralism" is to find ways of keeping that "inevitable" conflict from endangering our society by unmanageable outbursts. If conflicting group interests will always be with us, then we need to ensure their resolution by peaceful means. To do this, we must, for one thing, learn much more about how groups have interacted in the past and how compromise and even cooperation have been achieved. We must also think through and test solutions for today's situations, to either avoid conflict or to resolve it with maximum satisfaction for all concerned.

A first step, we feel, is the recognition of America's diversity and the separation of myth from reality. We do not yet claim to have found new answers, but we have begun to stimulate widespread discussion of the questions. Following our first National Consultation, we began a broad program of publishing and distribution to many audiences. In the past year, we have published *The Reacting Americans: An Interim Look at the White Ethnic Lower Middle Class*, *White Ethnic America: A Selected Bibliography*, and *Why Can't They Be Like Us? Facts and Fallacies about Ethnic Differences and Group Conflicts in America*, by Rev. Andrew Greeley.

Scheduled for publication are a variety of pamphlets, books, articles, and monographs relating to the many issues we have begun to uncover. One pamphlet will focus on social and political behavior and attitudes of ethnic groups in a number of cities; another will offer suggested programs and curricula for ethnic studies programs at all educational levels. A monograph is in preparation which looks at ethnic neighborhoods as a source of urban vitality; another, at mental health services and gaps in services to ethnic groups; and a third, at the special needs of women in these groups.

The highlight of our publication program thus far has been *Why Can't They Be Like Us?*, the pamphlet by Father Greeley, who is Program Director of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. This publication has drawn enthusiastic public response, has been excerpted in many ethnic newspapers and elsewhere, and is currently in use by academics in a variety of disciplines.

In his pamphlet, Father Greeley describes ethnicity as "something that man grimly hangs on to." "If we understood more about how ethnic groups relate with one another," he goes on to say, "we might have some insights which would enable us to mitigate, if not eliminate, the dangerous tensions which threaten to tear apart our large cities."

Father Greeley sees ethnic groups as having both positive and negative values. On the positive side, he writes, "they keep cultural traditions alive, provide preferred associates, help organize the social structure, offer opportunities for mobility and success, and enable men to identify themselves in the face of the threatening chaos of a large and impersonal society." On the minus side, he points out, ethnic groups can "reinforce exclusiveness, suspicion and distrust, and serve as ideal foci for conflict." "Finally," Father Greeley concludes, "whether we like ethnicity or not doesn't really matter very much; it is a concrete reality with which we must cope, and condemning or praising it is a waste of time."

In all of our work, we are aware of the potential contribution which could be made by the federal government. A federal role could have great impact, and thus must be thoroughly thought through from the very beginning. The bill currently before you gives us the opportunity to begin that process and open up discussions which are long overdue.

The American Jewish Committee has not had the opportunity for a full review of this bill, and thus I cannot convey any official position to this subcommittee. We are engaged in serious consideration and staff study, and I hope the preliminary insights of our deliberations can be helpful. From these discussions, and from our past and current experience, several points do emerge which I should like to discuss, related both to the Ethnic Heritage bill specifically and to the possibilities generally for government involvement on the question of ethnicity.

We fully subscribe to the statement of policy on which the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act is based. We, too, have always seen the United States as a multi-ethnic society in which there should be room for differences without the imposition of any constraints. As Jews, we have seen this country as one in which we may choose to identify with both our nations and our heritage without conflict or contradiction. We have fought, and continue to fight, for full equality of opportunity for members of all groups, while at the same time we proclaim and promote the strengthening of the constitutional principles of individual rights.

From our experience, we commend the dual objectives of this bill, those of providing understanding both of one's own group and of the heritage of others. We see it as psychologically healthy for young people to learn, as the great sociologist Kurt Lewin has said, about "the ground on which you stand," i.e., to recognize one's roots and appreciate one's past. Of course, that past need not necessarily dictate the present or the future, but without a grounding in previous experience, we cannot make as intelligent choices day by day. Our own work in this area includes a wide-ranging program within the Jewish community, stimulating an appreciation of Jewish history and culture and a modern approach to Jewish identity. The second objective of this bill—understanding the heritage of others—is another programmatic focus of the American Jewish Committee. Through many of our action projects, publications, human relations training programs, both written and audio visual materials, and other aspects of our work, we have endeavored to create the kind of understanding that is a goal of the bill you are considering.

One of our main concerns is that the two objectives of this proposed program be linked within a broad context. We would think it useful, for example, for a person to understand the relationship of his own group to other groups, the similarities and the differences in history and culture, and the societal framework in which both groups operate. If we are to dispel the basis for the questions, "Why can't they be like us?" we need comparative studies and materials as well as those related to only one group.

Therefore, we are reluctant to endorse the "single-group" nature of the proposed ethnic heritage studies centers. If each center carries on "activities related to a single culture or regional group of cultures," it is conceivable that unnecessary elements of divisiveness might be introduced. We might be fostering unhealthy competition rather than cross-cultural cooperation. Also, since initial funding is proposed to be rather modest, many groups would necessarily feel excluded from still another governmental program.

Instead of this focus on one group or a regional group of cultures, let me suggest a slightly different concept, one which was offered by the American Jewish Committee to the platform committees of both political parties in the summer of 1968. At that time, spurred by our initial work in the field of ethnicity, we called for the establishment of a National Institute on Group Life. A number of regional institutes could be based on this concept and still incorporate all of the programmatic aims of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act.

The conditions which led us to our position in 1968, unfortunately, still exist. We have learned, as have many others, that merely wanting to "establish a dialogue" or "bridge the gap" between groups is not enough. It takes more than good will to breakdown feeling of separation and address meaningfully the issues of group identity, group interest, and group conflict. It takes a sophisticated understanding of history and of both individual and group behavior.

Thus we urged the establishment of a National Institute on Group Life to develop this understanding, through encouraging government agencies, private groups, and individuals to carry out appropriate research and demonstration programs. Various governmental agencies now deal with pieces of intergroup problems on a relatively uncoordinated basis, and none effectively addresses the concepts of pluralism and group identity.

When the normal processes of group interaction have broken and society has been disrupted, it has been necessary to create ad hoc commissions to study what occurred and suggest means of preventing such episodes in the future. Both the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders and the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence were extremely important in terms of both their recommendations and the knowledge generated by their studies. It is unfortunate, though, that this knowledge seems always to be developed after the fact, on an ad hoc basis. It would, we feel, be desirable to have a permanent and continuing instrument which could carry on the kinds of investigations assigned to these two commissions, in the area of group life and group conflict.

An institute such as I have described, especially if it had regional outlets, could serve many of the functions envisioned by the proposed legislation, but in a broader context and with additional possibilities. That is, it could develop new education materials, or find useful materials already in existence, related to a variety of ethnic groups. It could—and should—encourage the training of teachers in the use of this material. In fact, it could encourage or sponsor training for many government officials who ought to be more aware of the multi-ethnic nature of our society and more skilled in working with different ethnic groups.

The National Institute on Group Life, as we envision it, could carry out these programs and make a decided contribution to the education of American students. It could, in our view, also go beyond these functions and reawaken interest in the history of America's groups in general.

Prof. Rudolph Vecoli of the University of Minnesota has offered us a great deal of insight into what he calls "the neglected dimension of American history," ethnicity. He says: "Only the true believer can any longer sustain the vision of America as a 'homogeneous society of undifferentiated men' where race, religion, and national origin do not matter." Yet, as he relates, these elements of diversity are not the subjects of study which they should be. A survey conducted by Prof. Vecoli of 100 colleges and universities revealed that 60 percent of them offered no course at all dealing directly with the history of group life in America. Dr. Vecoli says:

Ethnicity in American historiography has remained something of a family scandal to be kept a dark secret or explained away. . . . Ethnic studies have thus long suffered from the blight of the assimilationist ideology. Because of their expectations that assimilation would be swift and irresistible, historians and social scientists have looked for change rather than continuity, acculturation rather than cultural maintenance.

This gap is now becoming apparent, as we look for guidance from history and we find none. Thus, in addition to studies of specific ethnic groups, we would hope for national encouragement of broader historical studies of American groups in general.

From the historical insights gathered, and from the exigencies of current group expression and group conflict, the National Institute on Group Life could begin the needed formulation of research issues, the stimulation of data collection and analysis around them, and the widespread dissemination of the results. From the facts gathered and analyzed, the institute could suggest policies and

programs which more accurately reflect the reality of our society. Concerned officials and leadership at all levels are looking for guidance on potential or actual group conflict situations, and a National Institute on Group Life could be the same kind of resource in this area as the National Institute of Mental Health is for so many problems.

An example might be helpful. In many cities, there are the beginnings of ethnic groups struggling within the school systems for promotions, control, and resources. This same struggle occurred in New York City, where it exploded into a conflict that left the city polarized and has adversely affected educational progress. In the hope of abating or reducing these tensions in other cities, the American Jewish Committee is cooperating with a major university in a study of "ethnic succession." What happened historically when the members of a particular ethnic group now in leadership positions succeeded the previous established group? How was polarization minimized? Are there new institutional arrangements which can be suggested now so cities undergoing ethnic change be both receptive to the entry into leadership of emerging groups but yet protective of those who have given loyal service in the past?

In general, how do groups achieve status? Is it necessarily at the expense of another group, with as much injustice done to those who feel "pushed out" as was previously done to those who are striving to get in? These problems are not new, and we may be tempted to sit back and allow the old social processes to work things out for new groups in the same way they have always done. The times are such, however, that those old processes bring with them tremendous social costs and require us to look for new ways to resolve conflicts and bring about change more rapidly.

No one discipline can relate to these questions. The National Institute we envision could draw on a number of fields, in a coordinated fashion which would maximize the usefulness of any one contribution. Some of the questions have begun to be asked, but many more need to be formulated, as we learn to see problems in terms of group interest and group conflict. Following are some of the questions which an Institute might address:

- (1) How can we recognize America's diversity without promoting destructive separatism through stereotyping and generalization?
- (2) Can we develop guidelines for "the rules of the game" of group conflict? If clashes between group interests have occurred in the past, how can they be anticipated and regulated in the future?
- (3) What are the trends in ethnic identity? What are the relationships of geography, economics, generational differences, and other factors, to those trends?
- (4) How can the needs of ethnic groups be met in the total context of social values? For instance, if decentralized programs and community control would be positive steps to reduce alienation, how can they be introduced without resulting in exclusiveness and lack of coordination for the city as a whole?
- (5) Is there a relationship between the way ethnic groups organize their communities and economic success? What ethnic organizational forces propel or detract their members to or from economic success?
- (6) How should various institutions of American life—church, union, school, employment—take account of diversity? What new directions or programs might they test?

Basic to answering these and other questions is a new understanding by Americans of their individual and collective pasts. That is why we commend the cosponsors of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act for recognizing the multigroup nature of our society and for urging the development of new knowledge and new teaching materials. We hope that the Federal Government will assist Americans to discover and appreciate their heritages and the heritages of others. Moreover, we hope that, through an institution such as we have outlined, this appreciation can also be developed for the unique heritage of American diversity.

Once again, we applaud the Congress for its foresight in engaging this important issue. Establishing the proper role for the Federal Government will, indeed should, involve considered discussion within and outside the Congress. The American Jewish Committee is pleased to be a part of this discussion, and we hope our 65 years of experience with the concepts of group identity and inter-group relations will be useful.

Mr. LEVINE. I will excerpt some pieces from the statement and weave in and out of it as you ask some questions.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I would recommend to the committee to ask questions at any point.

Mr. LEVINE. Good. I will dispense with trying to establish the credentials of the American Jewish Committee in this field. The oldest human relations agency in the country, 65 years of history of inter-group relations and dealing with defense of Jewish rights and civil liberties rights of all of our citizens.

I do want to begin by commending Congress and this committee and sponsors of this bill for recognizing the multigroup nature of our society and urging the development of new knowledge and teaching materials.

We hope that the Federal Government will assist Americans to discover and appreciate their heritage and heritage of others.

The American Jewish Committee has not yet had a change to officially take a look at your legislation. We have had extensive staff study, though; and from our experience, especially in the recent 2 years of being involved in a national project on white ethnic America, we are deeply concerned at the proper role of the Federal Government being established over here.

We fully subscribe to the statement of policy on which the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act is based. We, too, have always seen the United States as a multiethnic society in which there should be room for differences without the imposition of any constraints. As Jews, we have seen this country as one in which we may choose to identify with both our Nation and our heritage without conflict or contradiction. We have fought, and continue to fight, for full equality of opportunity for members of all groups, while at the same time we proclaim and promote the strengthening of the constitutional principles of individual rights.

As to your specific bill, H.R. 14910, we find that the objectives are admirable. We wonder, though, whether the construction will lead to the enforcement of those objectives. For example, we are a little worried, Congressmen, about the nature of the single group or multigroup regional centers. We are not too clear as to what you mean by that, and we are frightened that the establishment of single-group ethnic centers would be divisive, perhaps lead to some dissension in particular areas with the kind of competition that might not be conducive to the goals of this bill.

Even a grouping of multiethnic groups in a particular center would not, in our opinion, be that inclusive as to allow for the kind of expenditures which particular groups if left out of a regional center might feel are in fairness, a just approach to their individual ethnic concerns.

So we are suggesting, instead, that this committee, and Congress in general, take a look at a broader concept, a concept in which the ethnic centers would be divisive, perhaps lead to some dissension in Ethnic Heritage Studies Center Act might find a particular role. This is something that we have suggested to both party platform committees in 1968; the American Jewish Committee suggested that we establish a National Institute on Group Life.

This particular national institute—let me quote from our written testimony—would do the following:

Instead of this focus on one group or a regional group of cultures, let me suggest a slightly different concept, one which was offered by the American Jewish Committee to the platform committees of both political parties in the summer of 1968. At that time, spurred by our initial work in the field of ethnicity, we called for the establishment of a National Institute on Group Life. A number of regional institutes could be based on this concept and still incorporate all of the programmatic aims of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act.

The conditions which led us to our position in 1968, unfortunately, still exist. We have learned, as have many others, that merely wanting to "establish a dialog" or "bridge the gap" between groups is not enough. It takes more than good will to break down feelings of separation and address meaningfully the issues of group identity, group interest, and group conflict. It takes a sophisticated understanding of history and of both individual and group behavior.

Thus we urged the establishment of a National Institute on Group Life to develop this understanding, through encouraging Government agencies, private groups, and individuals to carry out appropriate research and demonstration programs. Various governmental agencies now deal with pieces of intergroup problems on a relatively uncoordinated basis, and none effectively addresses the concepts of pluralism and group identity.

When the normal processes of group interaction have broken and society has been disrupted, it has been necessary to create ad hoc commissions to study what occurred and suggest means of preventing such episodes in the future. Both the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders and the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence were extremely important in terms of both their recommendations and the knowledge generated by their studies. It is unfortunate, though, that this knowledge seems always to be developed after the fact, on an ad hoc basis.

It would, we feel, be desirable to have a permanent and continuing instrument which could carry on the kinds of investigations assigned to these two commissions, in the area of group life and group conflict.

An institute such as I have described, especially if it had regional outlets, could serve many of the functions envisioned by the proposed legislation, but in a broader context and with additional possibilities. That is, it could develop new educational materials, or find useful materials already in existence, related to a variety of ethnic groups. It could—and should—encourage the training of teachers in the use of this material. In fact, it could encourage or sponsor training for many Government officials who ought to be more aware of the multiethnic nature of our society and more skilled in working with different ethnic groups.

The National Institute on Group Life, as we envision it, could carry out these programs and make a decided contribution to the education of American students. It could, in our view, also go beyond these functions and reawaken interest in the history of America's groups in general.

What we are saying is we not only need focus on individual groups and the development of materials; we also need to focus on comparative group life in America. We have to answer, for example, some of these questions the American Jewish Committee is engaged in, in small pieces of research, none of which is adequately funded and broad

enough to answer the following questions, and I will conclude on this note:

(1) How can we recognize America's diversity without promoting destructive separatism through stereotyping and generalization?

(2) Can we develop guidelines for "the rules of the game" of group conflict? If clashes between group interests have occurred in the past, how can they be anticipated and regulated in the future?

(3) What are the trends in ethnic identity? What are the relationships of geography, economics, generational differences, and other factors, to those trends?

(4) How can the needs of ethnic groups be met in the total context of social values? For instance, if decentralized programs and community control would be positive steps to reduce alienation, how can they be introduced without resulting in exclusiveness and lack of coordination for the city as a whole?

(5) Is there a relationship between the way ethnic groups organize their communities and economic success? What ethnic organizational forces propel or detract their members to or from economic success?

(6) How should various institutions of American life—church, union, school, employment—take account of diversity? What new directions or programs might they test?

Thank you, gentlemen.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you very much, Mr. Levine, I am very pleased to note that Professor Vecoli, director of the Center for Immigration Studies at the University of Minnesota at Minneapolis, has arrived, and I would call upon our colleague Mr. Quie to introduce Dr. Vecoli. Dr. Vecoli I wonder if you would like to come up here and join us at the witness table and join this panel.

Mr. QUIE. It is a pleasure for me to introduce Dr. Vecoli, whom I have not met before, but we all recognize the greatness of the institution he comes from—the University of Minnesota. Dr. Vecoli, your name has been used many times in relation to the subject of ethnic studies. Prior to your coming into the room, Dr. Levine mentioned you, so you were heralded before you had come. We are pleased you are with us to get your expert testimony as a person who studied this for a long time. Thank you for coming.

Mr. VECOLI. Thank you, Congressman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We are happy to have you, Dr. Vecoli. We will proceed with your statement after we have heard from Dr. Liu.

Dr. Liu, as I said earlier, your entire statement will appear in the record at this point and you can proceed as you like.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF DR. WILLIAM T. LIU, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY, ON BEHALF OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME, NOTRE DAME, IND.

Although American government represents an experiment in attempting to integrate groups of widely diverse ethnic origins, the stress at the elementary and secondary levels of education has been upon the accomplishments of Americans of Anglo-Saxon origin. Little systematic presentation depicts this historical and ongoing contributions of other groups. The recent spate of books on the history of Black Americans. Ethnic studies would involve, of course, not only the study of history for its own sake but would show an immediate relevance to contemporary society.

Some systematic information has indeed been collected. A dominant research interest in sociology and anthropology has been to discover the extent to which persons of various ethnic origins have retained the customs and attitudes, along with other ties, to the country or origin. Some areas, Chicago, for example, have been the object of much research along these lines. Furthermore, considerable information has been gleaned on the past and present political roles of various ethnic groups in a number of cities.

But it must not be assured that all of the necessary research has been completed. What is happening to ethnic groups today is not only of crucial importance but necessarily remains an object of continuous study. As we noted, the American ethnic experiment is just that: an experiment. It is not yet finished, and it is of far more than mere academic interest. We cannot overstress the need for study of the role of ethnicity in economic and political behavior. Certainly the materials already collected should be systematized for presentation; but unless the research process continues, such materials will come to constitute only the quaint relic of an interesting past. Continuous study of the history of ethnic groups and increased study of their present roles in contemporary society are required.

The University of Notre Dame has always had a considerable interest in various aspects of ethnic study. For one thing, the student population has always included heavy representation from groups of relatively recent immigration, such as Germans, Irish, Poles, and Italians. Academic interest in one particular ethnic area is evidenced by the Eastern European Studies Program which has existed for some time; no less than ten volumes on the subject have been published through the facilities of the University of Notre Dame Press and the Review of Politics. Contributions here were mainly by political scientists, philosophers, economists, and historians.

In addition, members of the sociology and anthropology faculty have focused directly on certain ethnic groups in their research. Professors Julian Samora and Richard Lamanna have studied Black and Spanish-speaking minorities in East Chicago. Professor Samora, as well as Professors William D'Antonio and Arthur Rubel, has done considerable research in the Southwest portion of the United States among Spanish speaking peoples; all three have written books dealing with the life styles and political problems of this minority.

But it is important that such findings be made available for presentation at the elementary and secondary education levels. Current activities of two of our faculty members provide a suggestion as to what might be done. Professor Samora has contributed to the development of a complete course in the history of Spanish-speaking Americans, a series of visual aids with a text available for use at various grade levels, in both English and Spanish. Such programs would enable even a teacher who was relatively untrained in ethnic studies to present classroom materials effectively.

But the actual training of skilled teachers in this area would also be an important aspect of an ethnic studies program. Professor Rubel is presently instructing a group of secondary school teachers in a neighboring community in introductory anthropology, with a view towards enabling them to present anthropology systematically at the ninth grade level.

While both the training of teachers and the development of materials is virtually necessary, both would be enhanced were the teachers enabled to participate to some degree in the ongoing research process. To attain all of these goals, it might be desirable for university centers to develop a program of studies leading to the Master of Arts degree which would include substantive courses, research, and the development of materials for use at the elementary and secondary levels.

Certainly we favor the goals of H.R. 14910 and we should like to stress the importance of a broad definition of its provisions in order that possible ethnic studies centers be enabled to develop programs in accordance with a rationale they develop themselves. Certainly all universities have their own unique strengths and areas of emphasis and these should be taken advantage of.

The establishment of centers for ethnic studies would make a significant contribution to American society at a critical juncture. Ongoing research at the university level can provide the vital basis for the development of programs to provide much-needed information concerning the role of ethnic groups in American society.

Dr. LIU. Since the entire statement is going to be inserted in the record, I am going to summarize a few key points which I have

brought with me as representative of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Notre Dame.

I am here in behalf of the bill, House bill 14910, and the Department at Notre Dame studied this bill carefully. We had several meetings to discuss the implications and processes in the bill. We are definitely in support of the bill in the following ways:

We feel that, first of all, the American Government represents an experiment in attempting to integrate groups of widely diverse ethnic origins; the stress at the elementary and secondary levels of education has been upon the accomplishments of Americans of Anglo-Saxon origin. Little systematic presentation depicts the historical and ongoing contributions of other groups. The recent spate of books on the history of black Americans and certainly a number of books on the Spanish-speaking Americans, the Mexican-Americans, which all of a sudden show that there is a lot of material but little attempts have been made to integrate the material for teaching purposes.

I think that the second point I would like to summarize and emphasize is that not only that we need some kind of inventory of the materials which are available on ethnic identity and ethnic cultures in the United States but we need the necessary research money to continue the kinds of research that we need so that we will have up to date the ongoing process between the interrelationship of American society and ethnic communities in the United States.

What does the American society as the Government and economic system represent due to the ethnic communities, in whatever way, and at the same time what these ethnic communities can contribute and have contributed to the American social structure, on the other hand.

I would like to point out that the university has had a considerable interest in various aspects of the ethnic studies. One of the reasons we are here is because of the recent attempts on many campuses throughout the land to establish Black studies programs, and some of us at Notre Dame started to emphasize on one particular ethnic group, and it is probably not going to represent the whole range of issues and problems in American society, so several of us wrote letters to student newspapers to emphasize the importance of ethnic studies programs.

Of course, at Notre Dame, we have a special reason to do this. Most of our students are offspring of more recent immigrants—Germans, Irish, Poles, Italians, and Hungarians. Our students are interested and some of our faculty members have been doing work in the area of Spanish-speaking Americans in the East Chicago area and also in five States in the southwest United States.

We have people on our staff who are now putting together the Mexican-American material for audio-visual usages, and we have staff on our campus, in our department, who are attempting to give courses to high school teachers in the Elkhart area and also in the South Bend area; so that we are definitely concerned about the ethnic studies programs.

Finally, even though this is not in the prepared statement, but I would like to mention, as a reaction to Mr. Levine's earlier statement, I think that those of us at Notre Dame are in favor of the so-called regional cultural centers, not because we feel that it is necessary to identify certain cultures and give them some emphasis at one center or another but because of the scarcity of skilled people, of trained people in the United States.

If we establish centers to encompass all of the ethnic origins, there would be a dispersion of skills and materials rather than a concentration of such. Therefore, those of us at Notre Dame who have discussed the implications of the bill were in favor of the way that it is written.

Thank you.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you very kindly, Dr. Liu.

We would also like to hear, I think, at this time from Dr. Vecoli, and then we can have a discussion. Dr. Vecoli, your entire statement will go in the record at this point. I notice that all of you gentlemen have excellent points, and I am delighted we can include the entire statements in the record. You can proceed in any way you prefer. Perhaps you may want to summarize the high points so we can have more time for questions on the bill. There are a number of specific questions I have, and I am sure the other members of the committee will, too, so why don't you proceed, Dr. Vecoli, in any manner you wish.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF DR. RUDOLPH J. VECOLI, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Among the hallowed symbols of the American nation has been the "melting pot." Although those who used this metaphor did not always agree on the outcome, it generally envisioned the common fusion of all cultural elements into a new distinctively American amalgam. In its origin, the "melting pot" theory was an optimistic, generous conception which provided the rationale for a liberal immigration policy. It inspired those lines by Emma Lazarus inscribed at the base of the Statue of Liberty; even the "huddled masses" and "wretched refuse" of other lands were to be transmuted into Americans by this cultural alchemy. While it served a useful ideological function, the "melting pot" theory was not good anthropology or sociology. Ethnic groups demonstrated a reluctance to surrender their historic traditions and cultural patterns; they stubbornly refused to be turned into standardized Americans of the Anglo-Saxon variety. In turn, this resistance triggered a movement for "One Hundred Per Cent Americanism". All of the institutions of society, the political parties, the churches, the corporations, and the labor unions, were enlisted to impose cultural conformity and to root out "alien" or "foreign" traits. But the chief agency for this coercive Americanization was the school. Despite strenuous efforts this campaign at forcible assimilation was doomed to failure as had been similar efforts in Europe to Germanize the Poles and Magyarize the Slovaks.

Belief in the efficacy of the "melting pot," however, continued to dominate American thinking about intergroup relations. Ethnic differences were described as minor and ephemeral; evidence to the contrary was dismissed by scholars and laymen alike. Following World War II, we convinced ourselves that the process of assimilation had done its work. Books such as that by Frederick Lewis Allen, *The Big Change* (1952), reported that immigrant groups had, by and large, disappeared, and that an "All-American Standard" of life had been generally realized. Black Americans were said to be an exception, but the outlook was for their rapid entry into the "mainstream of American life." Such predictions were well-meaning and misleading. In retrospect, it appears that these writers mistook surface appearances for reality. Responding perhaps to the tensions of the "Cold War," they created an image of cultural homogeneity, by plastering over the differences, indeed cleavages, in our body politic with the calcimine of sociological fallacies.

The 1960's shattered these illusions. The history of this tragic decade is one of group conflict and violence. Rather than being on the threshold of a totally integrated, standardized social order, it appeared that American society was in danger of being fragmented, torn to pieces, by a resurgence of ethnic consciousness. Ethnicity, by which I mean group consciousness based on a sense of common origin, demonstrated a vitality which confounded academic observers. Not only was this intensified ethnic identity common to the "outsiders," Blacks, Indians, and Spanish-speaking Americans, but also to nationality groups which were supposed to have vanished a generation ago. "Black Power" and "Red Power" brought forth echoes of "Irish Power," "Italian Power," and "Polish Power."

Heightened group antagonisms raised fears of polarization, not simply a black-white polarization, but one which would pit various ethnic groups against others. It is to be regretted that the eruption of group conflict had to force us to rediscover the pluralistic character of American society.

We thus came to learn with Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan: "The point about the melting pot is that it did not happen." That this should have come as a revelation suggests that our study of history had ill-equipped us to deal with the turmoil of the present. A staff report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence declared that the American people appeared to be suffering from a "kind of historical amnesia." A false conception of the national past peaceful and tranquil accentuated the shock of any Americans at current-day disorders. Citing ethnic group conflict as one of the endemic sources of hostility in American history, the Commission report concluded:

The myth of the melting pot has obscured the great degree to which Americans have historically identified with their national citizenship through their myriad subnational affiliations. This has meant inevitable competition, friction, and conflict.

"Competition, friction, and conflict" among ethnic groups have not always been negative forces in American life. In politics, athletics, and other fields, ethnic competitiveness has generated a tremendous amount of striving which has enriched the total society.

Clearly we have an urgent need for knowledge and understanding of the role of ethnic groups in American life, in the past and present. Before presenting suggestions as to how this need might be met, it might be useful to inquire as to the causes and effects of this neglect of ethnicity in American history. The basic reason for this neglect has been, I submit, the domination of the writing and teaching about our national past by certain assumptions of cultural and even racial superiority. History textbooks have conveyed (and to a considerable extent still do) the impression that everything important in the American past has been said and done by white, English speaking, old stock Americans. Blacks, Indians, Mexican-Americans, and immigrants have been the invisible men of American history, presented as faceless mobs, crowds, and masses, rather than as active participants in the making of America. That the history of a multiracial, multilingual, and multicultural society such as ours should have been told from an Anglo-American perspective is surely a paradox.

The explanation is to be found in the educational philosophy which has dominated our schools with few exceptions. One of the basic functions of the public schools was the assimilation of the children of the immigrants. In the eyes of the Americanizers, the school was viewed as the chief defense against the alleged ignorance and depravity of the foreigners. In 1909, the educator, Ellwood P. Cubberley, baldly stated this function of the school:

Our task is to assimilate or amalgamate these people as a part of the American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law, order, and popular government, and to awaken in them reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things which we as people hold to be of abiding worth.

It is clear that Cubberley wished not to Americanize, but to Anglo-Saxonize the little immigrants.

Generations of children coming from immigrant homes suffered from the ethnocentrism of the schools in which everything "American" was defined as good; everything "foreign" as bad. With some exceptions, teachers were not only insensitive to, but overly hostile towards, the ethnic heritages of their pupils. Rather than building on the linguistic and cultural resources of the students, the schools sought to purify them of their "foreign" (ethnic) traits, including often their mother tongue. It is not surprising that the children often became ashamed of their origins, of their very parents. As Milton Gordon has observed: "Ethnic 'self-hatred' with its debilitating psychological consequences, family disorganization, and juvenile delinquency were not unusual results."

Within this ideological framework, American history was taught as the inculcation of patriotism and good citizenship; in practice this meant reverence toward the heroes and symbols of the distant past: the Mayflower and Plymouth Rock; Bunker Hill and Valley Forge; Ben Franklin and George Washington. What meaning could this have for children named Kowalski, Petrovich, or Russo? How could they, any more than black children, identify with a history in which there appeared to be none of their kind of people? History as taught in the schools thus did not provide, but often deprived the children of the immi-

grants of that "patrimony" of a cultural identity" which Erik Erikson thought necessary to the development of positive ego identity in individuals.

Over the years some have called for an American history which would reflect the pluralistic character of the society. In 1916, John Dewey urged the schools to "take pains to enlighten all as to the great past contributions of every strain in our composite make-up." He added:

When every pupil recognizes all the factors which have gone into our being, he will continue to prize and reverence that coming from his own past, but he will think of it as honored in being simply one factor in forming a whole, nobler and finer than itself.

Although there have been vast improvements in the teaching of history since 1916, I daresay that we seldom achieve the standard set by Dewey over fifty years ago. From the college to the grade school, we are by and large still purveying a brand of American history as bland and smooth as homogenized peanut butter.

Only within the last few years has there been a quickening of scholarly interest in the study of ethnicity. An increasing number of books and articles are being published which shed new light on ethnic subcultures and group relations. These new insights and findings, however, have not generally made their way into the school curricula. The statement by a committee of historians that "The American people . . . have embodied in their national being a tremendous diversity . . . (which) must be faithfully portrayed (in textbooks)," is still more of an aspiration than a reality. The greatest progress has been made in the field of Afro-American studies. A library of general works, textbooks, and teaching materials have been published; many courses in "Black History" from the graduate to the grade school have been established; numerous teachers have been trained in this field. Clearly these measures have only begun to compensate for the long-standing neglect of the history of Black Americans. We must be concerned, however, that the American past not be divided into "Black History" and "White History." We must insist upon a pluralistic rather than a dichotomized view of history, one which takes into account the complete spectrum of racial, religious, and cultural groups making up the American people. This will entail a basic change of historical perspective, not only at the elementary secondary school level, but in the colleges and universities as well.

The Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers provided for by H.R. 14910 would greatly stimulate and facilitate this much needed reform in the writing and teaching of American history. This bill mirrors, I believe, a growing realization among educators and laymen that our schools have not by and large created among students an awareness and appreciation of the ethnic diversity which has been and remains a vital feature of American life. In response to the events of recent years, numerous efforts are being made by school districts and individual teachers to develop courses in history and social studies which would portray the role of ethnic groups in our society. Such understandings have often lacked adequate resources and have usually operated in isolation. We are still at a stage where each teacher has to make up his own unit of study on ethnic groups. By developing and disseminating curriculum materials, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers would encourage many teachers who are presently frustrated by the lack of appropriate materials. By training teachers in ethnic studies, the Centers would fill an urgently felt need in many schools for instructors with a competence in this area. Each Center could also serve as a regional clearing house on human and library resources, a facility for testing the effectiveness of materials and techniques, and a research institute on the various regional cultures.

In this connection, I should like to stress the importance of utilizing the resources of the ethnic communities in the educational programs.

Ethnic organizations and institutions necessarily would be the source of much of the material required for research and teaching. Leaders of ethnic groups should be invited to participate as speakers and advisers to projects. Some of the ethnic groups have historical societies which were established to encourage the study of the particular group's experience in America. For example, the American Italian Historical Association has as its objective: "to remedy the serious lack of accurate knowledge concerning the history of the Italians in the United States and Canada." It seeks to remedy this deficiency through conferences, publications, and preservation of historical records. The American Jewish Historical Society, the Polish American Historical Association, and other such organizations have similar objectives and programs. The ethnic historical socie-

ties can make a significant contribution to the carrying out of the purposes of H.R. 14910.

One of the major impacts of this bill would be the impetus it would provide to ethnic studies at the college and university level. Sad to say, the role of ethnic groups in American life has been generally neglected in instructions of higher education. As a matter of fact, they have been the chief source of the cultural myopia which has permeated the educational system. Although Sec. 904 of H.R. 14910 recognizes the need to utilize the research facilities and personnel of colleges and universities, my feeling is that much more needs to be done to encourage scholarship at this level. Because of past neglect we know little about the history of dozens of American ethnic groups. What do we know about Bohemians, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, or Slovaks in America? To revise educational curricula and textbooks before the basic research has been done may indeed be putting the cart before the horse. An urgent task which confronts us, for example, is the preservation of the historical records of ethnic groups, for if this is not done we shall never be able to study their heritages. For some years, the Center for Immigration Studies of the University of Minnesota has been gathering such documents in an Immigrant Archives. However, the work has barely begun.

Scholars in ethnic studies in various disciplines must be trained who will in turn be qualified to prepare both teachers and teaching materials. I respectfully suggest to the Committee that more explicit provision be made for developing our resources in ethnic studies at the university level.

In conclusion, I should like to share some thoughts with you about the objectives which might be served by the study of ethnic heritages. As an historian, it is my conviction that the teaching of history ought not to serve political ends, however worthy these might appear to be. Its purpose must be educational, i.e., to seek for each student the highest degree of intellectual and emotional maturity of which he or she is capable.

Ethnic studies thus may have two distinct yet equally legitimate functions. Personal identity is rooted in history. An individual's view of his relationship to the past can be a source of a positive ego identity drawing strength from his family and ethnic group origins or if it is one which denigrates his background it can undermine his sense of worth and self-respect. And it has been well said that a person who can not respect himself can not respect others. As Erik Erikson has so perceptively stated:

Young people must become whole people in their own right . . . The wholeness to be achieved at this stage I have called a sense of inner identity. The young person, in order to experience wholeness, must feel a progressive continuity between that which he has come to be during the long years of childhood and that which he promises to become in the anticipated future . . . True identity . . . depends on the support which the young individual receives from collective sense of identity characterizing the social groups significant to him: his class, his nation, his culture.

The proper teaching of ethnic studies would foster this sense of wholeness by strengthening within each student a sense of pride, rather than shame, in his own origins. Certainly this must not take the form of ethnic chauvinism which seeks to inflate the pride of one group at the expense of others. Nor should it fill the heads of children with mythological nonsense. The authentic history of any group can demonstrate abundantly the basic worth and dignity of its members—and by extension, of all human beings.

The second function of ethnic studies would be directed at a general understanding of the nature of group life and how it has affected the development of American society in particular. At the secondary level, such an analytical approach would introduce students to basic concepts of ethnicity, culture, assimilation, and so forth. These discussions should deal frankly with issues such as ethnic stereotypes, prejudice, group conflict, and group traits. Such matters are the stuff of everyday life, to ignore them would deprive the program of its essential purpose and place its credibility in jeopardy.

At this stage of the development of ethnic studies, we need courses which will experiment with a variety of formats, methods, and contents. We do not know as yet what will work best to achieve the educational objectives. For example, it might be useful for students to be divided into groups to study their separate heritages intensively. Or mixed groups which would deal with a number of ethnic heritages might be more effective. Perhaps both approaches used jointly would yield the best results. One of the major responsibilities of the Ethnic

Heritage Studies Centers ought to be a program of research on the relative effectiveness of various approaches to the teaching of ethnic studies. This seems of such importance that I would strongly urge that such a responsibility be written into the language of the bill.

Critics of this bill will charge that an emphasis on ethnic studies in the schools will itself promote group consciousness, furthering "the polarization and Balkenization of American society." My reply is that after laboring under the delusion of the "melting pot" for many decades our national well-being requires that we recognize the reality and legitimacy of the existence of American ethnic groups. Clearly the assimilationist approach did not succeed in extirpating ethnicity, although it has ravaged the psyche of generations of children, brown, black, red, yellow, and white. The Americanizer's dream of a homogeneous, standardized citizenry has turned into a nightmare. Perhaps we need a "Cultural Bill of Rights" in which the rights of all ethnic groups to pursue their distinctive ways of life and to perpetuate their heritages would be explicitly recognized and protected. "Human diversity and variety," as Kenneth Keniston has so well said, "must not only be tolerated, but rejoiced in, applauded, and encouraged." The enactment of H.R. 14910 would in my opinion put the government of the United States on record as endorsing this view. As such it would have important symbolic as well as practical meaning. It would advance us significantly toward a redefinition of the meaning of America, a meaning which would embrace cultural, ethnic, racial, and religious differences as sources of social health and national enrichment.

Dr. VECOLI. I first wish to thank Chairman Pucinski and members of the committee for the opportunity to testify on H.R. 14910, which is a bill of great interest to me and my colleagues at the University of Minnesota.

We have for some years been developing this field of ethnic studies at the University of Minnesota—and we have now in process of development a graduate program in comparative ethnic and racial studies, which we believe will fill a need for study and research on ethnic groups, not only in the United States but in a comparative dimension. We think it would be very fruitful to look at other societies which have had multilingual, multiethnic populations.

So in our conversations at Minnesota, we have certainly felt that this bill would be a great help and great encouragement to those of us who are working in this field.

I am also appearing as the president of the American-Italian Historical Association, which is an organization of laymen and scholars who are interested in the history of Italian immigration as a field of research. The executive council of the AIHA has endorsed this bill as a measure which would greatly facilitate the kind of work that we are interested in doing.

What I have tried to do in this statement is initially give you my thoughts about the need for ethnic studies and the reason why we have at this particular point in our history a deficiency of knowledge about the ethnic groups in our country. This is really a paradox, it seems to me, that in this kind of heterogeneous, pluralistic society we know so little about the different groups that constitute the population of the country.

I suggest that this has been because of the dominance of a particular kind of ideology, the melting-pot ideology, which has assumed that the process of assimilation would work swiftly and inexorably and within a matter of a generation or so we would all be melted down into some kind of common amalgam. This philosophy has dominated our education system from the graduate school down to the grade school and has dictated the way in which American history has been presented. Until recently the assumption which was pre-

sented to children studying American history was that all of the important things which were said and done in the American past, were said and done by white English-speaking Anglo-Saxon Americans and that the other groups in society, whether racial or ethnic, were simply there in the background as extras on the historical stage.

The effects of this kind of teaching of history on the psychology of children, I think, needs to be considered. We know it is very important for children and young people to be able to develop a sense of positive identity which would be the basis for a sense of self-respect. Being presented with a picture of the American past in which they only see themselves in negative terms, if at all, has been a negative force upon generations of American children, not only black and red and yellow and brown but also white children of immigrant backgrounds.

I would argue the need for a change in our curriculum in the public schools in the fields of history and social studies in the direction of providing the American children with a more realistic picture of what America has been like and is like.

This, I think, would serve a number of purposes. I would like to read the last few pages of my testimony, which directs itself specifically to the bill and makes some suggestions for alterations.

Only within the last few years has there been a quickening of scholarly interest in the study of ethnicity. An increasing number of books and articles are being published which shed new light on ethnic subcultures and group relations. These new insights and findings, however, have not generally made their way into the school curriculums. The statement by a committee of historians that "The American people * * * have embodied in their national being a tremendous diversity * * * (which) must be faithfully portrayed (in textbooks)," is still more of an aspiration than a reality.

The greatest progress has been made in the field of Afro-American studies. A library of general works, textbooks, and teaching materials have been published; many courses in "black history" from the graduate to the grade school have been established; numerous teachers have been trained in this field. Clearly these measures have only begun to compensate for the long-standing neglect of the history of Black-Americans.

We must be concerned, however, that the American past not be divided into "Black history" and "White history." We must insist upon a pluralistic rather than a dichotomized view of history, one which takes into account the complete spectrum of racial, religious, and cultural groups making up the American people. This will entail a basic change of historical perspective, not only at the elementary and secondary school level, but in the colleges and universities as well.

The Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers provided for by H.R. 14910 would greatly stimulate and facilitate this much needed reform in the writing and teaching of American history. This bill mirrors, I believe, a growing realization among educators and laymen that our schools have not, by and large, created among students an awareness and appreciation of the ethnic diversity which has been and remains a vital feature of American life.

In response to the events of recent years, numerous efforts are being made by school districts and individual teachers to develop courses in history and social studies which would portray the role of ethnic

groups in our society. Such undertakings have often lacked adequate resources and have usually operated in isolation. We are still at a stage where each teacher has to make up his own unit of study on ethnic groups.

By developing and disseminating curriculum materials, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers would encourage many teachers who are presently frustrated by the lack of appropriate materials. By training teachers in ethnic studies, the centers would fill an urgently felt need in many schools for instructors with a competence in this area. Each center could also serve as a regional clearinghouse on human and library resources, a facility for testing the effectiveness of materials and techniques, and a research institute on the various regional cultures.

In this connection, I should like to stress the importance of utilizing the resources of the ethnic communities in the educational programs. Ethnic organizations and institutions have a great deal to contribute, I believe, to this educational curriculum reform. We have a number of historical societies such as the American-Italian Historical Association which have been working in the field and have resources which would be useful in carrying out the purposes of H.R. 14910.

One of the major impacts of this bill would be the impetus it would provide to ethnic studies at the college and university level. Sad to say, the role of ethnic groups in American life has been generally neglected in institutions of higher education. As a matter of fact, they have been the chief source of the cultural myopia which has permeated the educational system.

Although section 904 of H.R. 14910 recognizes the need to utilize the research facilities and personnel of colleges and universities, my feeling is that much more needs to be done to encourage scholarship at this level. Because of past neglect, we know little about the history of dozens of American ethnic groups. What do we know about Bohemians, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, or Slovaks in America?

To revise educational curriculums and textbooks before the basic research has been done may indeed be putting the cart before the horse. An urgent task which confronts us, for example, is the preservation of the historical records of ethnic groups, for if this is not done, we shall never be able to study their heritages. For some years, the Center for Immigration Studies of the University of Minnesota has been gathering such documents in an immigrant archives. However, the work has barely begun.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am particularly impressed and I wonder if you would like to emphasize, Doctor, your page 6, the paragraph on attitude of critics to this concept, because I think it is a telling point.

Dr. VECOLI. The rationale for this bill, as I see it, is both in terms of providing for children of different ethnic backgrounds a sense of positive identification with the American past and also providing them with an intellectual understanding of the nature of the American society as a pluralistic society.

I do think as we proceed with this bill, there will be opposition from critics who will say this will promote group consciousness, that this will simply exacerbate the differences in American society. I don't find this a persuasive argument, because I think we have for decades suffered under the delusion of "melting pot," in which we refused to recognize

the reality and the legitimacy of the existence of ethnic groups. The effects of this, as I suggested before, have been that the assimilationist approach has affected generations of children in a very negative way.

I suggest perhaps we need a cultural bill of rights in which the rights of all ethnic groups to pursue their distinctive ways of life and perpetuate their heritages would be explicitly recognized and protected.

The enactment of H.R. 14910 would, in my opinion, put the Government of the United States on record as endorsing the view that ethnicity and diversity are sources of national strength and well-being and enrichment rather than negative forces in our society.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I must say it is an excellent statement and obviously you have given the subject a great deal of thought. I am particularly impressed with your reference to the young people, and I was very happy you reminded us that as early as 1916, John Dewey urged the schools to take pains to enlighten all as to the great past contributions of every strain in our composite makeup, and your quote is:

When every pupil recognizes all the factors which have gone into our being, he will continue to prize and reverence that coming from his own past, but he will think of it as honored in being simply one factor in forming a whole, nobler and finer than itself.

Now, I think that is right down to the guts of the issue. What we are trying to do in this bill is to help Americans know each other better and understand each other better. I have said at the opening of these hearings that we are now paying a heavy price because, for the last century or two, we have tried to homogenize 200 million human beings instead of recognizing the Americans are a beautiful mosaic of many people, many races, many religions, many cultural backgrounds, and as we learn more about each other's strengths as human beings, we dissipate many of the needless fears and apprehensions and suspicions about each other and start looking upon each other as a mosaic of people who make up the whole of the Nation. I think that your statement has been developed beautifully. Mr. Brademas.

Mr. BRADEMAS. I have just a couple of questions, Mr. Chairman. I am observing the proof of what you said—a Polish-American chairman, a Greek-American colleague, a Jewish-American, Chinese-American, and Italian-American.

Dr. VECOLI. You have a mosaic right here.

Mr. BRADEMAS. I am not sure you planned it this way, but it is not unrepresentative of your point. I have a couple of quick questions and I will put it to my friend Dr. Liu, first, and if anyone else wishes to comment, all right.

To what extent are efforts being made in universities of the United States, especially universities located in communities where there are substantial ethnic minorities, to work with the schools in that particular community to afford them teaching materials in respect of the heritage of that particular ethnic group?

I think, for instance, of the University of Notre Dame—our home city of South Bend; we have, Mr. Chairman, some substantial Polish-American community, as the chairman knows, and Hungarian-Americans, to cite two; and does the University of Notre Dame work with the local school system in any way to develop curriculum materials that can be used in the schools where there are large numbers of

children or the entire city, for that matter, because it is important that the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant schoolchildren and the black schoolchildren be aware, in my view, of the contributions of the Polish and Hungarian past in view of the fact that there are so many citizens of those two backgrounds in that community, and do I make myself clear?

Dr. LIU. Yes. I think at this time there has been no evidence that the University of Notre Dame or even other universities in the area have engaged in this kind of educational endeavors to either help the schools in disseminating or collecting or teaching the material of ethnic groups.

As a matter of fact, I think the attempt has been the other way around—to minimize the differences. I think at least in the Catholic communities, the existence of national parishes in the parochial schools had in some way enhanced the group identity in some way that this might preserve certain cultural heritage.

Whether or not that is important at this time, I don't think this is the issue, but I think the issue is that we do not have a concerted and systematic effort to do the thing that the bill would enable us to do in the future.

I think that the third point in regard to Mr. Brademas' question is—I mentioned this earlier in my summarization—is that certain cultural groups are rather in certain parts of the country, and in South Bend, we certainly cannot talk about Chinese heritage in South Bend; there is very little there.

Mr. BRADEMAs. You are it.

Dr. LIU. I am it. On the other hand, we do have very large Polish and Hungarian ethnic groups in South Bend. Therefore, these two cultural groups are relevant insofar as school curriculum and interests of the pupils are concerned.

I suspect that Spanish-speaking Americans would be more interested in the kinds of teaching material that pertains to the Spanish-speaking culture or heritage in the Southwest United States and perhaps in large cities like New York and Chicago, this whole urban complex.

So, therefore, I think it is important to think about certain single or regional cultural centers because of the geographic distribution of our ethnic population in the United States instead of dispersing them throughout the country, which probably would not be very fruitful at this time.

Mr. BRADEMAs. Thank you.

Mr. LEVINE. Perhaps I can respond, Congressman. Dr. Vecoli has outlined brilliantly in many other places the fact that practically nothing is being done. There is a sudden surge of interest; it has become fashionable, of course, in the black studies field, but in terms of other groups in American life, it took the American Jewish Committee and other Jewish organizations years and years of indigenous fund-raising, and much of this kind of effort is of course quite admirable, to set up chairs in Jewish learning in a number of universities. The nature of these programs was quite specialized, with very few Jewish students except those scholarly concerned, getting involved. I am sure other ethnic groups have had the same kind of experience.

One of the reasons we are so impressed with your effort is because we think you are hitting at the nerve center of American society. You are asking for a modest amount of money; I assume this is only the beginning. It is quite accurate to define significant parts of American history in categories such as group conflict, group interests, and group identity. It probably defines American history more adequately than any other way. Yet in a recent study done by the American Jewish Committee called "Short-changed Children of Suburbia," we show in great detail the fact that these issues of social concern and these issues of ethnic background have been almost totally absent from our suburban schools.

There has been some change in the last 2 years with some increased interest, but inadequate source materials exist to touch base with historical reality and there is still great confusion as to how one teaches about American group life.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think you, Dr. Vecoli, make a very good point here and one that I am pleased with in the statement when he says on page 5, last paragraph:

Ethnic studies thus may have two distinct yet equally legitimate functions. Personal identity is rooted in history. An individual's view of his relationship to the past can be a source of a positive ego identity drawing strength from his family and ethnic group origins or if it is one which denigrates his background it can undermine his sense of worth and self-respect. And it has been well said that a person who cannot respect himself cannot respect others.

He also quotes Erik Erikson at the top of page 6, who states: "Young people must become whole people in their own right." And I think this is really the great problem, as you point out.

We have totally ignored in this country, the fact that we are unique as a nation. In Poland, 95 percent of the people are Polish; and in Italy, 92 percent of the people are Italian; and in Denmark, I presume 97 percent are Danes, and so on down the line. But here is a unique institution, a polyglot nation, a heterogeneous nation, and yet as we look at the history books of this country, as we look at all of the various textbooks, nowhere do you find any acknowledgement of the fact that America is a mosaic of many people.

Mr. LEVINE. We are paying a tremendous price, Congressmen. I don't think we quite realize the pathology that exists in our cities and, overall, the deep disillusionment of youth. The new movements that people are critical of—"groupiness" and "hippiedom," the desire to establish community—is really nothing more than a deep need on the part of people to identify with something smaller than the kind of cancerous anonymous society that has been developed.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Secretary Rogers said in Africa the other day on his visit that 10 percent of our Nation can trace its history to many of the old nations of Africa and the cultures that precede our own culture as a nation, but you won't find that anywhere in textbooks.

We get hundreds of phone calls and letters from teachers around the country that say: "Do you have any text material? Do you have any materials?"

You say in your statement, Dr. Liu: "We favor the goals of H.R. 14910 and would like to stress the importance of broad definition of provisions in order that possible ethnic studies will enable us to develop programs in accordance with a rationale they developed themselves."

One reason why we have tried to assign the role of developing curriculums and textbook material, and various other source material, to the university is we are mindful that, if we tried to leave this in sources other than universities, it could become an instrument of all sorts of political infeeding and various other things, and even universities have had some problems with this.

We had a witness yesterday, Dr. Spector from Washington University of St. Louis, who properly drew a distinction between the Berkeley black studies project and what we are talking about here. The Berkeley black studies project became a political instrument, so it failed and Berkeley shut it down.

We are not talking about a political instrument here. We are talking about a resource instrumentality: knowledge, information, not political activism.

I think, within the framework you suggested, Dr. Liu, where we leave to the universities the rationale to develop the academic standards, we can assure that the very thing that some might fear, perhaps Mr. Levine might fear, will not happen. Is that a correct assumption?

Dr. LIU. That is very correct. I think there has to be a proper place of this kind of archive centers or data banks within the framework of the institution of higher learning and this would have to be kept in mind. It has to be brought up to date in our times—I think that not only historical material but the ongoing processes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Levine talks about, he suggests—a different approach; he suggests that we set up—what do you call it?

Mr. LEVINE. National Institute on Group Life.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I must submit that I think you missed the main thrust of this legislation. Now you have a vast array of programs and studies being funded by all sorts of people in this country—private foundations, the OEO, Justice Department, USOE—and there is a great deal of work being done in America to try to move along the lines that you suggest; but you would, within the framework of your proposal, if I understand it correctly, be putting us right back where we are now. This legislation has as its ultimate goal the creation of instructional material about individuals so that in due course they can (a) know themselves better and (b) know each other better.

Now, if I thought for one second that this legislation was designed to polarize or, as Dr. Vecoli said, "Balkanize" attitudes, I, of course, would be very much opposed to this legislation, but that is not the purpose.

I am afraid, Mr. Levine, that, to follow your suggestion, we would be right back where we started from.

Mr. LEVINE. Let me explain something.

Mr. PUCINSKI. And we have not made very much success; as Dr. Vecoli points out, the melting pot has not really been melting very well.

Mr. LEVINE. Let me please explain, because I think you misunderstand, Congressman. We are saying exactly what you are saying—that there are lots of pieces of this pie all over the place, and we are saying it ought to be coordinated on a national basis into a National Institute on Group Life so the research could follow with a great deal more clarity, with the posing of the questions and the organization on a national level.

Mr. PUCINSKI. But I tell you what you have. We have gone that route.

Mr. LEVINE. I want to finish, because you don't understand.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I want to make it clear, because we have gone that route for 100 years, and you know what happens: the small groups, the groups that have not had muscle, spokesmen—the orientals, Latin Americans, various others—they get gobbled up and absorbed, and dealt out of the picture.

Mr. LEVINE. Let me finish, Congressman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. This is why we say each university ought to select an identifiable ethnic group and then, within the framework of that university, work on that particular identifiable ethnic group.

Now, somewhere along the line, there is going to be a merge of all, but I have seen, Mr. Levine, over the years—and this is why we have this problem today, and this is why you can't find any material anywhere—because I have watched institutes of group life and various others where the myriad of small nationality groups and ethnic groups got wiped away.

Mr. LEVINE. You misunderstand, because there is a second piece to my testimony. My testimony then would go to the heart of your bill, the ethnic studies heritage centers; I would regionalize this national institute so that it would do exactly what you are talking about, except for one way. We are concerned—and I wish we could get some clarity on this—we are not concerned with the intent of the bill; we are concerned with the way it is designed to operate.

We are worried about the single group nature of it. We are worried about placing one university in charge of a particular group, lest there be a competitive kind of a climate among a number of groups set up in a particular area. Let me explain.

Mr. PUCINSKI. But you take this attitude in other research; do you take this attitude on other occasions?

Mr. LEVINE. No, Congressman; let me explain. I say on a regional basis we can accomplish your aims if we set up an umbrella institution that would deal with all of the groups on a regional basis as you suggest.

So, if I am a Chinese organization, I would be able to come to this regional center and, in that regional center, my work would be done. If I am a Greek group, my work would be done. On the other hand if I happens to be that that particular regional center is a Jewish center as such, if I am an Italian group I would not find it appropriate to come to that particular regional center; it would not meet my particular needs.

And so I am saying we are seeking what you are seeking exactly, but we think the best way to do it is an umbrella type of agency on a regional basis, tied in, if possible, to a national institute.

Mr. PUCINSKI. And you have not used that logic in all of the other research projects that we support? For instance, we don't take and say that we are going to take leukemia and cancer and heart attacks and everything else and put them under one. We feel—and this is a very historic decision here—we feel, as Dr. Vecoli quite properly pointed out and as Dr. Lieu had quite properly pointed out and other witnesses have pointed out, that today in this country you cannot find source material about the heterogeneous aspects of this country.

Mr. LEVINE. We are supporting that.

Mr. PUCINSKI. And that is why I say that to suggest the route of the national institute on group life is neutralizing instead of letting Notre Dame—and Notre Dame is in the area of a large Hungarian community, and it is entirely possible that Notre Dame may decide they would like to develop an ethnic studies center on Hungarian culture, I don't know; they may decide to do it on oriental culture or on black culture; whatever they decide is fine. It does seem to me that the great shortcoming in America up to now has been this constant effort. Even though you say that your National Institute or Group Life would have different cubicles—one for the Greeks and one for this and that.

Mr. LEVINE. No, it would not.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We know that the net result would be the same kind of a homogenization that up to now, in my judgment, has been a failure. Perhaps we would like to get something from Dr. Vecoli.

Dr. VECOLI. Congressman, I think the point is well made that we need specialization simply in terms of the logistics of the problem. We are dealing here with a spectrum of groups which can number 40, 50, or 60 if we look at the Nation as a whole. It clearly is impossible for any university to have the expertise to deal effectively with 10, 15, or 20 groups. It is simply a matter of your staff, your linguistic resources, and so on.

So I do think that some degree of specialization on a regional basis would make a great deal of sense where each center would focus on not one, but the several major ethnic groups in the region.

Now, the problem you touched on of "What about the small groups that are minorities in all of the regions? What do we do with, for example, the Serbians or the Syrians?" Certainly the structure must make a place for them, otherwise we would be violating the very principle I think we are trying to establish here—that all groups need to have recognition of their presence in America.

At the same time, I think there would be some utility to the kind of overall agency which I understand Mr. Levine is suggesting, which might be along the lines of the Canadian Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Canada is faced with its own problem in terms of the cleavage between the English- and French-speaking groups, and there are many other groups—Italians, Poles, and so forth. This commission has done good work in Canada in terms of trying to establish some of the basic facts about the nature of Canadian society and encouraging not only research but teaching programs such as we are interested in which would respond to the needs of the different groups within Canada.

I would myself think that the regional centers, with their own specialized focus, ought to be coordinated within some kind of national institute which would see to it that, for example, no groups are neglected, that we simply don't respond to dominant groups in each region and ignore the smaller groups, so that we have equity.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The only problem with that, Doctor, and again the problem I have with the concept, is that you set up a national institute which then dominates. And I would rather go the route of Dr. Liu, let the university decide what is the rationale and then, of course, apply it.

You have in the agency that administers this act a clearinghouse. The administrator of the act will really be the clearinghouse, he obviously would not want to put all of his money into one direction at the expense of others.

Perhaps in due time the national clearinghouse might be a good thing, I don't know, and I am perfectly willing to listen to suggestions; but what we are trying to do in this act is to place the responsibility of judgment pretty much in the universities and, of course, the ethnic groups that would be interested in it.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Quie?

Mr. QUIE. I would like to find out how you people envision the use of this information in the secondary and elementary schools? You can have all of the instructional materials you want and unless you put them in use in the secondary schools and elementary schools, it is a useless exercise. As I understand the concept of this legislation, in northern Minnesota, in the schools where there is a predominance of Finnish people, undoubtedly they could do more in Finnish culture and even teach the Finnish language in the schools. In another part where there are mostly Bohemians in the schools, they would study Bohemian culture, but what about Minneapolis, itself, where there are Negroes, Indians, Mexican-Americans, Chinese, Japanese, a greater number of Jewish people probably, a large number of Norwegians and Swedes, an even larger number of Germans and a few Luxembourgers in there, what we called Germans. What do you do in a case like that?

Won't they be spending too much time in trying to teach everybody about everybody else's culture so you won't have time for anything else?

Dr. VECOLI. Mr. Quie, I think this is a very real problem, obviously, in terms of how you do this kind of teaching of American history which would really reflect the tremendous complexity of the cultural ingredients in the population.

I, feel that at this stage of ethnic studies, and I think we should recognize we are really pioneering here, it seems to me this very meeting is historic because, to my knowledge, this is the first time for the Government of the United States has taken cognizance of the existence of these ethnic groups in a positive way.

Usually, in the past, it has been to make negative kinds of observations, and to express negative concern. I think we need to approach the teaching of ethnic studies in an experimental frame of mind. We need to try out different kinds of curriculums and to develop different kinds of teaching materials. It seems to me a very basic function of the centers ought to be as testing facilities to follow up on courses and determine the outcome of teaching techniques and materials in different situations.

Now, we can envision teaching in Minneapolis, for example, a variety of courses which would be designed for schools with varied student populations. We would have certain objectives, that is, we would want to teach these children something about the nature of group life so they would have some idea of what is an ethnic group, what is the nature of prejudice, what is the nature of stereotypes. Our purpose would be to provide the students with an understanding of the role of ethnic groups in our history.

I think that this would provide a more realistic perspective for our young people so they could come to understand better our society as it functions today.

Beyond that, it seems to me that when you have groups of children such as Indian children on the south side of Minneapolis, that some special provision can be made for teaching intensively the history of the Indian people and perhaps of those particular tribes from which these children come.

Now, this might be done by setting up separate classes within the school in facilities outside of the school, I am not sure how this could best be done, but I think you need to experiment with a variety of programs which would deal intensively with the history of certain ethnic groups where it seems to be called for in particular situations and also the broad spectrum kind of course which would be aimed at classrooms in which you would have a dozen or more different backgrounds represented.

I think that is the best I can do at this point.

Mr. PUCINSKI. If I may add also, and I think he raises a good question, but as you look at the world, you have the Luxembourg group and Scandinavian group and Balkan group and the nations of Africa, Middle East, and I think Dr. Vecoli mentioned earlier, and I agree, it would be difficult to zero in on every single group in the world, but you could, as he has suggested, deal with regions.

For instance, the Soviet group, it is 16 republics, the Soviet Union, and various others, you would want to study as a group rather than individually, at least for a start.

Mr. QUIE. Well, what you are talking about now is an ethnic group which would feel left out. For instance, the American Indian never had a chance to go through what I did, being of Norwegian background, where we developed identity because of the area in which we lived and developed a pride.

Now, many people have written about the fact that the second generation seems to be ashamed of its parents and I think it is not true. We have gotten away from that. It is a psychological change in America and John Steinbeck wrote about that. The second generation doesn't talk the old language and that is where we got the idea of a melting pot. But there is still a tremendous understanding of Norwegian culture. I assume we don't have problems with the Norwegians as much as we do with the Swedes, at least there is not a problem there, but there is with the American Indian because we didn't have strictly Indian colleges as we have Norwegian Lutheran colleges in the past.

We don't have any, I imagine, Slovak colleges as such. There are Jewish colleges, but is this what you are talking about, are there some ethnic groups that have never had an opportunity to develop that pride in their identity.

Dr. VECOLI. I don't think it is quite what I had in mind. I wouldn't want to put it in terms of the allegedly culturally deprived groups. I teach courses in immigration history at the University of Minnesota, and I have found among students of Scandinavian ancestry curiosity about their own backgrounds which they don't simply soak up out of family or community atmosphere. Much of the history and heritage have been lost because often generations have not talked to each other.

One of the assignments I like to give in my classes is to have the students talk to some oldtimer, someone who has been an immigrant. They think about it and say, "Yes, I could talk with my granduncle; I never talked with him about this."

There has been a lack of dialog or communication between generations so that the students often don't have any very clear conception of their own cultural backgrounds. When they study American history, they study it in terms of Davey Crockett or Daniel Boone instead of the Norwegians who settled on the prairies. I believe the study of history ought to provide students with a specific identity in society so they know exactly who their own ancestors were and what part they played in the making of this country.

I think all American children need the kind of education in history which will enable them to develop a sense of pride and positive identity.

Mr. QUIE. When you explain it that way, it seems you and Dr. Levine are together. For the whole group, then, you would have all of the types of ethnic backgrounds in a class in a secondary school, and you could assign one of Norwegian background the job of finding out about himself, and one of Greek background finding out about himself, and like in your college class, I imagine they would not be primarily of Scandinavian background, but you would have all of the groups and you assign them to their own group to find out about their own group.

Dr. VECOLI. Usually, this is what they are interested in doing, exploring their own groups.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Well, this is at the receiving level. This is in the classroom.

Well, what we are talking about now is what you do with the finished product.

The bill here—this is where we digressed in Mr. Levine's suggestion—the bill is designed to make available, as Dr. Liu has said, some assistance to universities to develop, as he said in his statement on page 3:

But it is important that such findings be made available for presentation at the elementary and secondary education levels. Current activities of two of our faculty members provide a suggestion as to what might be done. Professor Samora has contributed to the development of a complete course in the history of Spanish-speaking Americans, a series of visual aids with a text available for use at various grade levels, in both English and Spanish. Such programs would enable even a teacher who was relatively untrained in ethnic studies to present classroom materials effectively.

What we are talking about in this bill is the mechanism to develop source material on the various identifiable ethnic groups or regional groups.

It is true that at the classroom level, as has been expressed by Mr. Quie, one would go to a library and research the material he can find on the Greeks and on the Italians, et cetera. Then the pupils themselves could try to bring better respect for and understanding of each other. The source material has to be developed, however, and my only objection with all due respect to Dr. Levine, is that if we were to go the route that he suggests previous experience shows us that it does not work out.

Mr. QUIE. Let's find out about availability of this information. On a number of the ethnic groups, it is available. You can contact just

about anybody. Take an American Italian, it seems to me there is a tremendous amount of material available, isn't there?

Dr. VECOLI. I am afraid there is not.

Mr. QUIE. There isn't? Couldn't they write to your association and you give them a bibliography of books?

Dr. VECOLI. No; the best book that has been written on Italian immigration was published in 1919. Since then, we have had a number published, but nothing which is really a definitive history of the Italian people of America.

Certainly, in terms of materials for use at the high school level, there is very little. A number of things are being published because publishers are responding to the same kind of climate that this bill is a response to.

Now, we suddenly are interested, we want to know about ethnic groups. But I am a little hesitant about this kind of crash program because often the materials produced are not really very good. I think in this area, as in any area of scholarship, basic research is essential. This has not, by and large, been done on the Italians in America. We don't have the kinds of studies which would give us a comprehensive view of the Italian experience in America. After all there were some 5 millions; that came from Italy. The Italians had very diverse experiences; in Louisiana as sugarcane growers, on the west coast as fishermen, in New York as garment workers, and so on. This story has not been told in all its complexity.

Once the basic research has been done, then the problem is, how do you translate it into secondary and elementary school materials?

Mr. QUIE. Do you think we still have to do basic research with some of the groups?

Dr. VECOLI. Yes.

Mr. QUIE. I can't imagine in my own nationality that you could do more than has been done.

Dr. VECOLI. You had a good man in Theodore Blegen, who was the spearhead in terms of work on the Norwegians. The work that has been done on the Norwegians has been very good, but that is an exception.

Even Swedes don't stand up very well in terms of availability of scholarly resources.

Mr. PUCINSKI. If Mr. Quie will yield, he is amazed and he proves my point better than anything I can say here. He is amazed that there is not a wealth of source material and most Americans are amazed when you raise the question, but then when you begin probing they discover that the material is not available either in quantity, quality, or depth. There are books, there are all sorts of books, novels, and whatnot, National Geographic has done some research, but there are really no curriculums, no source material, no materials available in a form suitable for a classroom teacher.

Dr. Liu, did you want to comment?

Dr. LIU. I am very glad, Mr. Chairman, you have been calling the attention of everybody in the room to the original spirit of this bill. I think this is the point I am trying to make. I think that the original spirit of the bill is to create regional centers to make inventories to pull the materials together for teaching purposes.

We do not have anything of this kind. We do not have a center where people can go to find everything there is to be known about an

ethnic group in the United States. We have many very fine centers and instead of other cultures in major universities, like the Harvard Yenching Institute with emphasis on the study of Chinese culture, but mostly in the Far East, we have other kinds of programs which are created by the National Educational Defense Act, mainly in the form of teaching languages.

We have many fine anthropological centers on the study of American Indians, but to talk about a specific kind of cultural heritage center, we do not have this kind of organization at the moment.

I think our first job is to make such an inventory, to find out how much we know about it, what kind of materials we have, then we want to find out how we can enrich this set of materials, make it more relevant for secondary and primary school teaching purposes.

We want to continue this kind of research. This is an establishment of certain kinds of archives, from my understanding of the spirit of the bill.

Now, what are we going to do after we have these materials? That is a different process. We know that the writing of textbooks is pretty much the prerogative of scholars, of people who undertake the job of writing.

Sometimes this is not even the case. It is the case of what people think as the consumers desire to have what kind of material in a book.

There are certain very fine textbooks on the market, but very few people choose them because people simply do not think that their students or pupils in the community would like to take that kind of material in their classrooms.

This is, I think, a political process in many communities, the parents and the school board and the teachers and the professional educators who get together to study the curriculum structure, the kinds of things that people want in that community, and this is the reason why I talk about the relevant centers or cultural centers in a particular region in the United States.

I think in many large communities, the study of Spanish-American cultural heritage would be not only desirable, they are almost important enough to have them as required courses, so that people would understand the educational process and the opportunity structure of the Spanish-speaking Americans in our large metropolises.

But such courses would mean very little to students, say, in South Bend and, on the other hand, people of Polish and Hungarian origins would find different kinds of material would be more relevant to their life experience. So, I think the spirit of the bill, as I see it, is to create centers for this kind of material. How people are going to use these materials in secondary teaching, that is different political process or social process, if you will.

Mr. LEVINE. Congressman, I must clarify something because I want to explain to you how my plan would work. I think we are so impressed with your efforts and we feel so deeply you are in a pioneering arena, one that we are terribly interested in so that if we are not understood, I think it is a waste of this particular opportunity. I am saying to you that the regional laboratory idea is exactly what we have in mind. With the regional center concept as it now appears in H.R. 14910 we are fearful of running into political headaches and trouble with competition of groups, unless it works something like this: Unless it is in

an umbrella or neutral lab which talks about comparative ethnic cultures and it is prepared as a regional lab to contract out, say, to the University of Notre Dame for a project dealing with Polish-Americans or with other ethnic groups in that geographic area, so on demand this regional lab would respond to community needs and desires. It would even in practice probably lead to exactly what you are talking about in terms of a regional grouping of the ethnic groups that are particularly dominant in a geographic area. What I am afraid of and what the American Jewish Committee staff has been discussing, is that in an area like New York, you would find it greatly difficult to establish an effort that is particularly geared to one group or another.

You would have a great difficulty. You would run into immediate political problems. We don't want to see this program shot down because of these potential problems. We have such an interest in the program that we want it to get off to the right start. We are saying a better way to accomplish your aim would be to have this umbrella center become a force for the study of group life in a geographic area, also for it to become a teacher-training lab. As an illustration, such a center could carry on projects similar to something now going on at the Smithsonian Institution. The Smithsonian has recently discovered that it has excellent collections of what they call stereotypic materials. These collections have saved cartoons from popular magazines throughout the last century. Every time an ethnic group came over, pretty much the same kind of stereotypic kinds of material appeared in cartoon form. They have been able to take the cartoons and put them on slides and are now preparing them for the kinds of teaching materials the ethnic heritage centers would try to create. The Smithsonian is not carrying out this project in terms of one particular group, but hopes to show kids the comparative problem of different ethnic groups. In short the American Jewish Committee is interested in doing two things, interested in establishing the comparative nature of ethnic development in America and in self-image, the teaching about one's own roots. That is a difficult thing to achieve, but it can be achieved.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Bell?

Mr. BELL. No questions.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Hawkins?

Mr. HAWKINS. No questions.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Quie?

Mr. QUIE. I would like to go through this a little further. Who should make the decision of the regions? I can't imagine putting all of the Scandinavians in one region if you can stay away from that, do you put all Asians in one region?

Mr. LEVINE. That is the problem. This is the only objection we have and we support everything else. That is not well defined.

Mr. QUIE. Let's ask the man from Asian background.

Dr. LIU. Mr. Quie, the group at Notre Dame met and discussed some detail on this point you brought up. I think that every university would have some kind of concentration of skills and the kinds of problems that they are interested in.

The University of Texas and UCLA, for instance, would be logically, if they had not developed centers in the study of Spanish-American population, I would be surprised.

I would be very surprised if the universities in New York City

did not have a center for the study of the Jewish culture. I would be very surprised, for instance, that the study of Chinese culture would not be located in areas where people are more concerned about the Chinese population in terms of cultural heritage and contribution and so on.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Like Hawaii or California?

Dr. LIU. Yes, Hawaii or California. I think the East and West center is well located in terms of a geographical center. Aside from this regional relevance to the problem, there are also historical developments in terms of faculty research interests. If, at University "X" five people in the same department had been working on a project for 20 years, it would be logical for them to continue their effort rather than to take it away from them, but to strengthen that effort. This is why I thought that even singular or say multiple cultural centers would be good because you tend to concentrate certain resources together to give them the strength.

I cannot imagine that we have five Hungarian cultural centers in the United States. I cannot find this many people who would be interested.

Mr. QUIE. I didn't know that there was even one; how do you know there is one?

Dr. LIU. I don't know.

Mr. QUIE. This is important because we know there was one on Asiatic culture, I still have a problem on whether or not it is acceptable to classify Far Eastern cultures as just Asiatic. Perhaps the Chinese and Japanese could get together at the East-West Center in Hawaii. But what about the other groups, Doctor—Bohemians, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, and Slovaks? You can go on from there.

How do you know about their centers?

Dr. LIU. We have many centers already in the United States dealing with the East European cultures, but emphasis may not be at the same equal degree. Again, this is a matter of the resources that you have.

At Notre Dame, we have an East European Center, and we have published more than 15 books in that area, but mostly in the area of Hungarian, Polish cultural heritage and Government and diplomacy and philosophy, and so on, simply because we had very few people who have been doing this work for many years and for some reason or another, they are able to find some research supports from private foundations and universities.

Just to keep these research scholars happy at Notre Dame, I think the university sometimes is coughing up money to do this.

Mr. QUIE. Do you think every group in the world would be able to interest this agency?

Dr. LIU. I think the spirit of the bill, as I see it, and I think there are people that would disagree with me, but I think in reality we have to deal with this kind of problem, that is, we can create centers to cover every minor subculture group in the world, but in reality, we are not able to do it. There are a number of reasons.

One is in some areas, we do not have the kind of interest—"How many Egyptian centers can we develop in the United States"? This is going to be a problem and, "How many experts do we have on Egypt or in modern Egypt," for that matter. I don't know, but I am raising this kind of question just like you raised.

On the other hand, we should have tremendous interest in areas that we are now beginning to pay attention to, like the black studies

program, like the Spanish-speaking Americans, and I think that there will be more consumer desire in those areas for textbook materials and so on.

The Prentiss Hall people wanted to put together a series of ethnic cultural monographs and they have done this in, I think, the Japanese-American, Spanish-speaking American, and I think Italian-American as well, and one of them contacted me for a small monograph on the Chinese-American and it was through this experience that I found there is very little being done on this.

I don't even know what the market value of that is. But I think there are such processes, natural process in which you would weed out certain things that at least for the time being, are not important.

Maybe in the future, they will be important. I am not overlooking any kind of cultural groups, and small groups, but what I am saying is there are certain natural processes which will guide our effort, given the limited resources, having to make a choice and the choice is up to the people to make.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Well, Doctor, if you will yield, let's assume there is a small Assyrian group in South Bend. Now they are a significant group but you are not going to find any material about them. Let's assume Notre Dame has a Slovak study center. Somebody comes to Notre Dame and says, "Can you include something about Assyrians" and you happen to have a professor there or you know somebody and you start a small program, at least then you have something going.

Dr. LIU. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Now the problem I have with the approach of Mr. Levine is that you would centralize things, and this is the very thing that created the problem we are in now. Somebody in a national institute makes a decision that the Assyrians as a group are too small, too insignificant, not important and so on. Therefore, a program never gets started, whereas, if you leave this decision within the framework of a university, the individual and the administrator of the bill, the university will submit to the administrator a grant request, "We want to set up a program here to do some research and develop material on Transylvanians," for example. Most Americans don't even know we have Transylvanians," in this country.

Most Americans don't even know where Transylvania was, yet it is a significant group. This is why I would prefer to have this within the latitude of the department and the universities.

Mr. QUIE. We all know that no matter what is in the authorization, there will be a limited amount of money for the program.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Sure.

Mr. QUIE. Who makes the decision?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Well, the USOE people make the decision, administrator.

Mr. QUIE. We are back to that problem again.

Dr. VECOLI. May I comment?

I would certainly support the autonomy of various regional centers, but it is obvious there will have to be a coordinating mechanism at the national level. What form this coordinating mechanism at the national level will take I think we will have to give a good deal of thought to.

Someone is going to have to decide on allocation of funds and judgments on different proposals and all of the rest but there seems to be a difference in the points of view of Mr. Levine and Dr. Liu with regard

to the identity of the centers, themselves. This seems to me a very important issue, that the centers not be identified with a particular ethnic group.

I think that the centers need to have a neutral character. One problem involves the location of ethnic groups in the country. For example, there are a considerable number of Hungarians in New Jersey, Ohio, and in certain other places. The Ukrainians have a number of different locations and so on. It seems to me that a regional center in Cleveland ought to reflect the spectrum of ethnic groups within the Cleveland metropolitan area. That is, you are going to have 10 or 15 or 20 different ethnic groups within the one city and each one will want recognition in the center's program.

I think of these centers as resource institutions serving the schools in a particular area. Clearly they have to be responsive to the communities they are going to serve.

Now if, in a particular city or region of the country, you have 10 significant ethnic groups, it doesn't seem to me you can close the door in the face of any of these. You have to be responsive to all of these in terms of serving the needs of school districts. I imagine we are not going to try to impose any of these materials on school districts, it will be eventually the choice of the local authorities as to what they want to use of the materials, but they can go to the center and say, "In our community we have a significant number of Latvian people and would like to do something on Latvian culture, history and immigration."

This center may not itself have resources on Latvians, but this is where you need coordination because you can't duplicate in every center in the country all of the resources. As clearinghouses the centers should know where they can get the desired materials, so if in center "X" a unit of study is developed on Latvians in America, then center "Y" can acquire it and adapt it to local conditions.

But in terms of the difference between these two gentlemen, I would favor the concept of the center as neutral ground, as not itself having an ethnic identity which could become a vested interest of a particular ethnic group, and from which other groups would feel excluded. Rather in my conception the centers would serve all of the groups within particular regions and be prepared to respond to community requests and needs. Do I make my point?

Mr. PUCINSKI. You make your point, but I am going to have to somewhat dissent from that because we are really talking about two different things. Mr. Levine is talking about the finished product and what should we do with it and in a way, you are talking about what you are going to do with the finished product but Dr. Liu, on the other hand, is talking about the basic thrust of this bill being to provide study material.

Now, what you do with it, how you handle it, where are you going to use it, how you are going to use it, how you are going to disseminate it, how you are going to let the country know it is available, all of that comes under Mr. Levine's suggestion and various others.

What we are talking about in the bill, and I think Dr. Liu has caught the spirit of it and you have, too, Dr. Vecoli, is the basic initial thrust to provide study material.

What we are talking about here, now, in the initial thrust is the tremendous absence of resource material on a given number of subjects in this area.

Because there has not been this material, this country, in effect, has really denied this ethnicity and I think that is where we are in trouble.

Mr. HAWKINS. I quite agree with you, Mr. Chairman, but I think or I still feel we are confused as to the way this is going to be accomplished. It seems to me the problem is this: "How can you discuss the thing that you speak of, of the contribution of diverse groups to the American culture and not to create separatism in doing so."

If you create, let's say, a separate center or let's put it another way. If groups are competing with each other to get a grant on the basis they are going to study just one segment of this problem, will this in itself create diversity and lead to separatism? So, how can you possibly accomplish what you speak of, developing real research in the contribution made by the various groups to the American culture without creating this separatism?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Very simple.

Mr. HAWKINS. I don't think it is.

Mr. QUIE. I agree.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Liu put his finger on it.

Mr. HAWKINS. How do you solve it? Let me rephrase it. You have \$10 million and you know the white studies people will want their share and the Poles and Spanish-speaking people, and in competing for the \$10 million, you are creating a political problem, to begin with.

Will they relate their request to the basic thrust of the bill, as I see it being, that the American culture is woven from these subcultures and will they have this feeling about the applications together, will they each be grabbing for this money to establish some little center of their own to study their own little culture to the exclusion of the other groups? This I see as the practical problem.

Mr. PUCINSKI. They will not do anything different, nothing different than scholars are doing now in competing for the educational research dollars in every field of education, science, medicine, research, NASA, or what have you. There is a fierce competition going on for the research dollar. Now we don't apply that standard to anybody else. I respect the suggestion made by Dr. Levine, but, in my judgment, what he introduces into this thing is sort of a political structure and I am not interested in this bill in a political context.

I am interested in this bill providing funds for basic research in a series of subjects; namely, subjects of identifiable ethnic groups in America.

Now, this same doctrine, we have bills dealing with higher education, you have the Education Profession Development Act where there is competition among teachers. Some bills emphasize humanities and some emphasize the sciences. I think Dr. Liu on a number of occasions and Dr. Vecoli have gone through the preamble of this bill and what the bill does.

Now, what Mr. Levine wants to do is something that is perfectly fine, let somebody introduce legislation to set this up after you have generated the material that is foreseen in this act, and this act says, "To provide a program to improve the opportunities of students in elementary and secondary schools to study cultural heritages of the major ethnic groups in the Nation."

That is all we are talking about here. We could just as soon be talking about cancer research, we could be talking about outer space,

we could be talking about various forms of law, we could be talking about humanities or social sciences.

In this instance, we are saying that we want to set up an apparatus for helping universities develop material that teachers can use in their classrooms to study identifiable ethnic groups in America. This is all.

Mr. Levine wants to set up a huge, big structure.

Mr. LEVINE. We would be ready to begin when you want to begin. I think that what is being said now is that there is a difference between group conflict and all other kinds of competition. The group conflict let loose in any particular community where one group becomes a dominant cultural group in terms of cultural research is a more dangerous thing than other kinds of competition.

I am saying we can accomplish what you want to accomplish by doing what Dr. Vecoli says, set up a neutral center that does what you want to do, but does not have the onus on it that it can be run by one group I think, that by being cautious on this score we protect the legislation on what we think will be a difficulty.

Mr. QUIE. Let me ask a question while these men are here and it is a question not related entirely to cultural heritage of immigrants. In some of the humanities, especially in literature, I noted through my elementary and secondary schools that we were tied closer to England than any other country as far as authors and I thought we have done the poorest job of teaching our young people anything about the Asian background.

For the Jewish part at least, we have studied the Bible, but there are a tremendous number of other authors and poets we never studied. We never studied Italian authors, perhaps people of the Catholic faith got a little more than those of us who are Protestants. We have sort of fallen into it with Africans which we have really not studied very much. I ask you if you are not also falling down in having a truly well educated America?

Dr. VECOLI. If I can respond, it seems to me you put your finger on the character of American education which has been really Anglo-American, so that although we have talked about the melting pot, really, the whole thrust of American education has been to emphasize the English heritage so that we have read English literature and studied English philosophy and English politics and so on. When you compare this educational content to the diverse origins of the American people, it seems to me you have a case of impoverishment, instead of having a broad-gaged view of our human backgrounds, of the human sources from which we draw our own strengths and identities it has been narrowed down to a small island off the continent of Europe.

And I think what we are talking about today in terms of changing the teaching of American history, for example, that this ought to have a salutary effect on the other kinds of studies as well. The point ought to be raised about the teaching of literature, for example, whether it should not be representative of the best writings that human beings have done rather than simply the best English writers. I certainly support your point of view.

Mr. QUIE. I think that is the real crux of our problem in America, that we have just been stifled on the kinds of literature we have had available.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We have missed our point. We have grown up under

the discipline of the Anglo-Saxon image and for 200 years millions of Americans have been molded into that image, whether they like it or not. We ask what is going wrong with the country today. A large part of the problem is because we have tried to put all of these people into one single solitary mold and it so happens that human beings don't like to behave that way. Human beings like to have their own identity and I think that we have tried to deny Americans their ethnicity and we are now starting to pay the price.

Either we turn around with this legislation and face up to ethnicity of this country or the great noble experiment is going to be a much more short-lived experiment than other similar experiments in man's history.

This country has to recognize the fact that we are individual human beings and this effort of trying to homogenize us into a solid single mold, be it puritan, atheist, or Anglo Saxon, or what have you, is a myth and if the country is falling apart at the seams today, it is only because we have tried to deny the ethnicity; and my fear, Dr. Levine, with all due respect to your suggestions, is that if we were to go your route, we would be back right where we started from.

Mr. LEVINE. I identify myself 100 percent with your statement.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I believe in the route of Dr. Liu and Dr. Vecoli, because at least there we give the universities and individual groups a chance to develop some identity and I am going to tell you right now, I may be 20 years ahead of my time, some day some scholar may be looking back, as Mr. Vecoli quoted John Dewey when he made the plea in 1916 and that plea fell on dead ears, when he said, quite properly:

When every pupil recognizes all the factors which have gone into our being, he will continue to prize and reverence that coming from his own past, but he will think of it as honored in being simply one factor in forming a whole, nobler and finer than itself.

I think that is all this bill tried to do, is to give Americans a chance to know themselves a little better as individuals and as a nation.

I want to thank you gentlemen for being here. You have certainly given us the most spirited testimony that we have had to date. Thank you very much.

I would like to insert at this time a statement by my esteemed colleague and a cosponsor of this bill, Congressman Edward J. Derwinski.

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS
FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 14910, which I co-sponsored, would, I believe, fill a void in our elementary and secondary school programs.

It is certainly consistent with the history of our country to properly accentuate cultural heritages, of which many Americans are rightfully proud. There are many communities in metropolitan areas where ethnic groups are readily identifiable and where they perpetuate the traditions, language, and culture of their forefathers. The students in the schools in such areas could directly benefit by emphasis on the contributions which various nationality groups have made to the development of our country.

It is obvious that present curriculum could be effectively adjusted to emphasize the contributions of ethnic groups to the American scene and relating the motivations which brought immigrants to our land.

I am pleased to join so many of my colleagues in sponsoring this proposal and associate myself with their positive arguments for the adoption of this bill.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We will meet again at 9 o'clock on Tuesday.

(Whereupon, at 11 a.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 9 a.m., Tuesday, February 24, 1970.)

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1970

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
GENERAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 9 a.m., pursuant to adjournment in room 2257, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Roman C. Pucinski (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Pucinski and Hawkins.

Also present: John F. Jennings, majority counsel; Charles Radcliffe, minority counsel; and Alexandra Kiska, clerk.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We will call the meeting to order.

We are very pleased this morning to have with us Dr. Andrew Goodrich, Director of Minority Group Programs, and Mr. Frank Mensel, director of governmental and urban affairs, American Association of Junior Colleges, Washington, D.C. We welcome your appearance this morning on this legislation to set up Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers.

Proceed, Dr. Goodrich.

STATEMENT OF DR. ANDREW GOODRICH, DIRECTOR, MINORITY GROUP PROGRAMS, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF JUNIOR COLLEGES, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dr. GOODRICH. Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the committee:

On behalf of the American Association of Junior Colleges and myself, we would like to express our appreciation for the opportunity to appear before you and share our ideas and feelings regarding the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act, H.R. 14910.

Federal involvement in education spans nearly 180 years. To attempt a chronological description of these various programs and enactments, however, would require much more time and space than allotted. A theme that ran through many of the early bills and acts was that of wiping out illiteracy. More recently it has become that of providing equality in educational opportunity. The proposed Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act proposes to perpetuate and cultivate the existing state of ethnic pluralism in our Nation. The fact that a large segment of our society has rejected the famous "melting pot" theory is a glowing tribute to those involved. It signals a nationwide renaissance of ethnic and racial pride.

For more than a decade, as a teacher in the public schools, I witnessed the academic crucifixion of the several disciplines through the his-

torical distortions of various texts and supplementary didactic materials, and the subsequent slow, but deadly spiritual strangulation imposed on the students.

The need for an Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act is evidenced by the large and diverse number of ethnic groups represented in the national population. Typical within this population are four groups that include over 600,000 Indians, one-third of which reside in urban areas; over 22 million blacks, a Mexican-American population of nearly 4 million persons that were numerically insignificant until the turn of the century; and approximately 865,000 Puerto Ricans, who represent one of the newer minority groups.

The demands for ethnic studies has been matched—both in lower and higher divisions of education—by cries that challenge its academic legitimacy. Many of the issues surrounding this issue, however, are of racial origin and are the results of deprivation and neglect. The three-pronged attempt to improve curriculum development, dissemination of materials, and training programs provided in the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act will contribute to meeting needs of both students and teachers, and will foster accurate historic treatment of teaching materials.

A statement from a recent study by the Center for Policy Research in Washington, D.C., and New York City, entitled "Post Secondary Education and the Disadvantaged: A Policy Statement" states that, "the earlier the correct orientation is presented, the less damage will be produced in the first place * * *. Hence, some ethnic studies should be introduced into the high schools and even primary schools and should become a standard part of the curriculum." (pp. 49-50)

Efforts to correct academic incongruities that persist throughout the Nation are being made by at least some States. Among these are two States that have a long history of leadership in the field of education. These two States, incidentally, are California and Michigan.

On March 12, 1964, the California State Board of Education unanimously accepted a report on American history textbooks prepared by a panel of historians from the University of California at Berkeley. The panel had prepared an analysis of textbooks used in the California public schools—two for fifth grade, three for eighth grade, and two for high school level.

The report points out:

Most of the textbooks we have examined reflect views on racial and sectional themes that have been rejected or drastically modified by the best of current historical scholarship. We are * * * concerned as citizens because these historical distortions help perpetuate and intensify the pattern of racial discrimination which is one of our society's most serious problems * * *. The greatest defect in the textbooks is the virtual omission of the Negro * * * in one book there is no account of slavery in the colonial period; in the second, there is not a single word about Negroes after the Civil War; (and) in a third * * * the narrative does not mention Negroes in any connection.

Unfortunately, this type of perfunctory and casual treatment suggests that blacks are not part of America. (Meyer Weinberg, *Integrated Education*, Integrated Education Associates, 1969.)

No small part of the problem is the fundamental opposition from faculty at all levels to any kind of program for the benefit of ethnic

and minority groups. One of the most significant outcomes of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act could well be the change of faculty and staff attitudes toward those who are culturally different. We at the American Association of Junior Colleges believe that such change is very much in the national interest, and we thus urge enactment of this bill.

As one educator notes, "History is more than a master of recreating the past in a mechanical, value-free way * * * (it) is actually an extension of human memory and experience. But if you try to make history jump through a hoop it was not meant to jump through, it may bite! Particularly if it is bad history to begin with." (Louis P. Harlan, "Tell It Like It Was: Suggestions on Black History," *Social Education*, April 1969, p. 391.)

To summarize, the cultural components of the American heritage have been buried long enough. If the mind of a people could be opened, we would find that most intolerance and misunderstandings are caused by ignorance and fear, and that the biases are almost solely based on cultural differences and not on the color of another person's skin. I, as a professional in community college work, believe the enactment of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act will promote a real appreciation of American history in its fullest sense, and will greatly enrich the lives of the next generation.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you.

Mr. Mensel?

**STATEMENT OF FRANK MENSEL, DIRECTOR OF GOVERNMENTAL
AND URBAN AFFAIRS, THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF JUNIOR
COLLEGES**

Mr. MENSEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I wish to join Dr. Goodrich in his warm endorsement of the bill, and to add just a brief comment.

I suppose we in AAJC feel such an acute concern over the attitudes of today's and tomorrow's students because our colleges are so much out front in this changing society. The waves of change are pounding our urban colleges in particular, and pounding them hard.

Outside the black colleges of the South, the community colleges carry far heavier minority enrollments than any other segment of higher education. In the larger cities that have community colleges, the campuses are bulging with the low-income and minority clienteles that heretofore were excluded from higher education. We can point to State after State where a single community college serves a much larger total minority enrollment than does the big State university: Pennsylvania, California, Texas, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Washington, Florida, Maryland, and Alabama, among others.

In some of our stronger urban community colleges, the minority enrollment today matches or exceeds the minority percentage of the metropolitan population, which represents a great stride toward making equal opportunity in higher education a functional reality. Such is the case in Chicago, Kansas City, Oakland, Seattle, and Dallas, among others.

Thus, staff and faculty in our colleges are under tremendous pressure from the cultural gap, and while they are growing every day in their capacity to cope with it, the professionals in the field, as well as

our leadership in AAJC, can see tremendous advantage in meeting the challenge much earlier in the education process. As a very practical matter, the treatment obviously has to go back to early childhood and the public schools. College is too late. We heartily back your bill, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Very good. Now, I was very much impressed with Dr. Goodrich's statement. Much of the turmoil and misunderstanding that we have among the various groups of people in this country is based on the failure to notice and know a little more about each other.

I was wondering, Dr. Goodrich, there have been some who have raised the question that efforts at setting up ethnic curriculums, particularly at Berkeley and some of the other schools, has not been very successful and has been phased out. Now, the statement was made before the committee that there is a basic difference in that those particular centers were really more political in nature rather than educational and they ran into all sorts of problems in that particular concept.

The centers proposed in this bill, of course, do not try to direct themselves to the political spectrum, but rather to the political aspects, to the historical aspects in the research that these centers would generate.

I was wondering whether you would care to comment on this. I think this is going to have some effect on the future course of this legislation.

Mr. GOODRICH. I suppose it would. I might mention that some of the programs at the higher levels of education in the colleges did get into some political entanglements, but I think much of it is based on the deprivation and negligence on the part of many schools to recognize this area of study as a legitimate area of study, by the faculty especially, even now.

Many of the courses that were included in the curriculum had lacked substance. They were just courses that were relabeled and the teaching personnel weren't really prepared to effectively work with the course. I think students became disenchanted with the lack of really good will and good intentions to make it an academically legitimate course of study. I think this is true in a lot of campuses.

I recognize what you suggest, that many of the courses and departments did flounder and fail, and a lot of them disappeared completely. I think they did this basically because the approach was unsound. I think what you are attempting to do here in the bill is devise the three-prong approach, as I conceive it, for curriculum development, sound curriculum development, based on accurate historical research by persons who know this particular area, the dissemination of the material, as well as providing training for persons who may act as resource persons in the school systems.

I think this is a very much needed operation in higher education, as well as the public schools. This is one reason we are here to support this.

Mr. PUCINSKI. A survey has just been completed of student unrest at the high school level, and we are impressed with the fact that a substantial number of the young people and the principals themselves—and I think this is very important—the principals who were participating in this survey admitted that curriculum deficiencies were

a significant cause in student unrest. I believe that we, particularly, have a great challenge in trying to bring about a better understanding among the races in this country by knowing each other.

I am really appalled by the image the average white child has of the black person in this country. They have no concept whatever of the historical backgrounds of the people who happen not to be white. I think most Americans, as a matter of fact, not just the children, but even the grownups, see the black man in America as the one who has been brought in chains and that is where his life begins and ends. They are totally unmindful of the fantastic historical background that predates and precedes black Americans.

I was impressed with Secretary Roger's statement on his visit to Africa last week when he met with some of the African leaders, and said that one in 10 percent of the American people trace their lineage and their history and ancestry to the rich cultures of Africa.

Now, most Americans are totally oblivious that there were such cultures. They can very easily equate the rich culture of the Renaissance and the Italian culture and German culture and the French culture, but they have no knowledge at all of the culture of many of the black people of the country.

It would be my hope that these centers would be able to develop this material.

I recall that several years ago our committee held some hearings on what sort of material is available to students on black culture in this country. We found at that time it was literally nonexistent. Some effort has been made to change that, but some of the books that I have seen, while some are very good, a great many of them are very mediocre and really don't address themselves at all to the depth of the problem.

This is why it would be my hope that these centers would develop some meaningful curricula, textbooks film slides, lecture material and, more important, develop some teachers who would be capable of participating in courses like this with some expertise and some knowledge on the subjects.

But I honestly believe that one of the reasons of the great turmoil in America today is that people are seeking identity, and we deny them this identity. We are, in this great, noble experiment of ours, trying to homogenize 200 million human beings into a single mold, and it isn't working and it won't work.

Now, until we recognize that this country is a very lovely mosaic and get to know each other as members of the mosaic, I don't think we are going to have tranquillity in this country.

Dr. GOODRICH. I agree, Mr. Chairman. May I add that in assessing the success or failure of the black studies program at the higher educational level, et cetera, you see very little mention about the attitudes of teachers and what part it played in the success or failure of such programs. I suggest, as you alluded, that this is one of the key things that your bill centers around. It should yield some fringe benefits in terms of affecting faculty and staff attitudes with regard to the ethnic pluralism of our country, hopefully improving it.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think that one of our greatest problems today in education is the fact that—and, as you know, there is a great deal of talk about integrating teacher staffs, and I am sure that efforts are being made in that direction all over the country—but one of the prob-

lems we have is that so many of the well-meaning white teachers have absolutely no concept of the cultural history of the young students they are going to be teaching.

They have no concept of their intellectual potential, and there is a tendency to just write them off as disadvantaged students—and I get tired of using the word “disadvantaged” because it takes in so many connotations. But it would be my hope that through these programs we can make some significant contribution to informing teachers themselves on the great opportunities that lie in that classroom, if they themselves know something about the cultural background of those wards that they have in that classroom, both black and white.

Mr. Mensel?

Mr. MENSEL. Gentlemen, this insensitivity that you referred to on the part of the college staff and college faculty is very definitely a large stumbling block to the large white minorities in the progress and the adjustment they try to develop in their college experience.

We hear so much these days about the academic deficiencies or the economic disadvantage that confronts these people, and I don't think that nearly enough has been said about the cultural gaps which these students face in trying to make their way through the typical American college scene.

Unfortunately, educators have the habit of thinking the world should come to them, that they are the seat of information and, thus, others should come around to their point of view, necessarily.

I think we in education have been lacking in our outreach, our capacity to go out beyond the boundaries of the campuses and understand the community and understand the various points of view and especially the various views of our culture.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Well, gentlemen, I am most grateful to both of you for being with us this morning, and we appreciate your support for this bill. We hope that we can make some significant contribution with this legislation. I believe we can. I believe you have been extremely helpful in giving us a new dimension into this problem.

Mr. MENSEL. You will make a tremendous contribution, not only to secondary and elementary education, but to college education if, through these centers, you can foster the kind of professional change in staff development creating the sensitivities that we, at least in the 2-year college field, now recognize as so very important to our function and to bridging the various community gaps, cultural, economic, educational. It is all one package as far as we are concerned, and it is hard to make any part of the programs succeed unless we have managed to bridge all of the gaps.

Dr. GOODRICH. One thing that we see as very important, which the enactment of this bill would help to dispell, is the notion that has been pervasively applied to the idea of being disadvantaged—and I specifically use the language “culturally different” to emphasize this point. Educators have coined this phrase, which suggests that the macroculture has something that is more desirable than the microculture. We don't agree with that, sir, and your bill supports this position and that of the many black and brown persons within our Nation.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am glad you brought that up because I couldn't agree with you more.

There are words like "culturally disadvantaged," "melting pot," and various others, which, I think, all really miss their mark. They may be uttered by well-meaning people, but I don't believe they mean what they say, or at least I hope they don't mean what they say.

For instance, I must tell you that I have developed a great repugnance for the word "melting pot," because that connotes to me that we want to take all human beings and somehow melt them down into a monolith, and I don't believe all human beings want to be melted down in a monolith. I think we want to retain our own individuality and our own self-respect, and we want people to respect us for what we are and for the kind of work we are doing.

I am very glad you brought that up because this bill does not want to go in that direction.

Thank you very much. You have been very kind to give us this early hour, and I apologize for getting you down here so early, but, as I said, this is really a hectic day around here today.

Mr. MENSEL. We appreciate your hospitality.

Dr. GOODRICH. Thank you.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Our next witness is Dr. Roscoe C. Brown, Jr., director of the Afro-American Institute of New York University.

STATEMENT OF DR. ROSCOE C. BROWN, JR., DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE OF AFRO-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, N.Y.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We are very pleased to have you here. As I have told the previous witnesses, this is a very hectic day because of some of the problems of the Rules Committee affecting our main committee.

I am most grateful for you being with us this morning because it is so important to put together a record, as you well know. When this bill comes for final action, it is going to be the record that the committee wants to look at and the report that we write on that record.

Your statement, of course, will appear in its entirety in the record, and you may proceed in any way you wish.

(The statement referred to follows:)

TESTIMONY BY ROSCOE C. BROWN, JR., DIRECTOR INSTITUTE OF AFRO-AMERICAN AFFAIRS NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

I wish to testify in support of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers bill which has been introduced by Congressman Roman C. Pucinski. This bill, which is an amendment to the elementary and secondary education act of 1965, provides for grants to public and private non profit education agencies and organizations for the establishment and operation of Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers.

I believe the development of Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers is an important recognition of the fact that in the elementary and secondary schools and the colleges have not adequately provided members of various ethnic groups in the United States with an awareness of their heritage and the heritage of the other ethnic and racial groups with whom they live in the poly-ethnic American society. While some educators maintain that adequate coverage has been given to various ethnic groups in the usual curriculum, evidence indicates that this is just not so.

While mention is made in some history and some literature books about the melting pot theory of America, the true poly-ethnic nature of the United States is not adequately reflected in either history or literature. Further, the specific problems of each ethnic group as they have participated in the American experience have not been adequately studied and understood, either by members

of the ethnic group who have lived the experiences or by members of the other ethnic groups who have shared or been observers of these experiences.

It is important that one feature of the bill provides for the development for use in the elementary and secondary schools with regard to ethnic heritage studies. The reason for this is that the present curriculum in elementary and secondary schools do not provide for an organized approach to the study of the ethnic heritage of specific groups. Materials should be developed so that they can be used in a variety of situations where the heritage of a given ethnic group is being studied.

The requirement of the bill that each center carry on activities related to a single culture or to a regional group of cultures assures that adequate emphasis will be placed on the various ethnic groups which have participated in the American society.

It might also be desirable for several centers to be devoted to each of the major ethnic groups. There could be an Ethnic Heritage Studies Center in each state related to the major ethnic groups in each state, or in the case of smaller states or states where there are a limited number of people from a given ethnic group, several states could join together to develop a regional center.

The use of research facilities and personnel in college and universities is an important feature of the ethnic heritage studies center bill. This feature will have two major effects:

(1) it will bring the expertise and scholarship of the universities and colleges to the study of the heritage of various ethnic groups and, (2) it will stimulate interest in the study of the heritage, history and culture of various ethnic groups in the colleges. It is important that the bill provides for the use of the special knowledge of members of various ethnic groups in local communities. This is extremely important because the indigenous members of ethnic groups may be more aware of certain aspects of their heritage than the scholars in the universities and colleges. Members of various ethnic groups might work together with university and curriculum specialists in developing an ethnic studies program that is meaningful to the particular ethnic groups that are involved.

I would like to respond to one criticism that is often made concerning ethnic studies. It is sometimes stated that such studies might lead to further differences between various ethnic groups. Research in sociology and psychology suggests that members of various ethnic groups are able to develop their optimum potential as individuals when they have a good understanding of their history and heritage. People who have such an understanding do not need to indulge in either self-defeating behaviors or extremely hostile and aggressive behaviors. America is a multi-ethnic nation, and it is important that all ethnic groups be aware of how they got here and what their history and contributions have been since they have been here. Ethnic heritage studies centers certainly will do this. It is consistent with the role of the school and the role of the university to participate in organized inquiry into the role of the various ethnic groups in our society.

In conclusion, I would like to repeat my support for the Ethnic Heritage Studies Center bill. I congratulate all of those congressmen who have added their names as sponsors to Congressman Pucinski's bill and urge the committee to approve the bill. I also hope that the Congress will pass the bill and will also authorize appropriations so that the Ethnic Heritage Studies Center can begin forthwith. Thank you very much.

Dr. BROWN. I think the intent as expressed in this bill, and the statements that a number of people in education, sociology, and psychology are making about helping to create an awareness on the part of all Americans, but particularly black Americans, about their heritage, their contributions, and the circumstances of their arrival in America, is very important.

The reason for this is somewhat obvious. Yet, at the same time, I guess it needs restatement; namely, that our curricula and our textbooks have literally failed to mention this and, as you yourself have mentioned, tended to emphasize, particularly in the textbooks, the "melting pot" theory of America and do not recognize the truly poly-ethnic nature of America.

Aside from that, the members of the various ethnic groups, as they are thrust into social interaction, do not understand the dynamics that affect the ethnic groups that are most contiguous to them. Thus you have the Black-Jewish and the Polish-Jewish conflicts, et cetera.

I think there are two purposes here: To help the ethnic groups involved to become aware of the heritage problems and also to help them understand the heritage and contributions of other ethnic groups which surround them, which helps to build this mosaic and an understanding of the mosaic and the polyethnic nature of American society.

Now, one of the things that is frequently said in criticism of the ethnic studies is that they will tend to exacerbate differences between groups of people, and I would maintain that the psychological and sociological literature indicates that this really isn't so.

Any research on the schizogenesis, or the growing part of people, indicates that when people of varying points of view are brought together to discuss and understand the basis of these difficulties, then they begin to feel better about themselves and to begin to be able to deal more realistically with the situation and with each other.

So I think one of the important things that is implicit in the development of ethnic studies and in terms of your bill for ethnic heritage studies centers is the idea that when people have a good, solid understanding of who they are and where they came from and what their overall contribution to the society has been, that they do not indulge in these types of aggressive and hostile behaviors, and also the retreating self-defeating behaviors, because we know as any small percentage of a minority group tends to thrust in the aggressive behavior, the usual response is to retreat, to retreat into different types of behaviors which are not productive either to themselves or to society.

The point, I think, is an important point; that is, the bringing to bear of the expertise of the colleges. The colleges probably bear more responsibility for the lack of attention to ethnic studies than any other area of education, largely because this has not been a particularly popular area for college professors to become involved in.

In my position as director of the Institute of Afro-American Affairs at NYU, one of my responsibilities is to recruit Black professors and to identify scholarships relating to the various areas of the Black community and black heritage. I find, as I am sure you know, it is very, very difficult to identify specialists in certain areas, Black or White, and in certain areas there is literally a paucity of research and organized scholarly activity. This is so much so, that one of our major areas of emphasis of our institute, aside from developing some 50 or 60 courses related to the Black experience, is to take the lead, which you have already started to do, which the bill will help us to do even better, in developing films.

For example, we have worked and we have already written—having had experience in writing scripts in education and also for on television myself—we have taken the lead and written two very creative prototype scripts dealing with a certain aspect of black history.

For example, one of the scripts we are dealing with has to do with black inventors. Most of the people aren't aware of the fact that a man like Benjamin Banneker made the first clock in America and in 1790 was considered to be the premier scientist. As a matter of fact, Washington, D.C., where we are located right now, was actually

designed largely through the engineering and architectural efforts of Benjamin Banneker.

Well, taking stories of a variety of inventors like this helps to do two things: It helps to let black kids and all people know that blacks have contributed a considerable number of things in the scientific arena, other than the arena of sports and entertainment which they are fairly well known for. On the other hand, it shows members of the other ethnic groups that blacks have contributed in the overall development of society.

Similarly, you can take any ethnic group. You can take the Italian group, the Irish group, the Polish group, et cetera, this is one teaching technique, as you look at the spectrum of inventions, you can see if any one of these groups were excluded from society, or their contributions were excluded from society, there would be some real gaps in terms of knowledge, in terms of understanding. So we plan to develop a series of films on a variety of topics which are not usually covered in black history and black heritage materials, in addition to which we plan to develop tapes.

These are tapes which you might call "like it is tapes." They are tapes which are in a variety of ways going into the black community, going to the white community, going to talk to successful blacks to help develop a picture of what the black experience is, a picture of what black people want, recognizing that there is not any one thing that all and every black person wants, but that again the desires of the black people are randomly distributed, although distributed in the direction of freedom and equality and self-respect, to reflect this in another kind of material.

In addition, we have organized for May, a conference to which we are inviting all of the major publishers in the United States that purport to publish materials on black culture to come and discuss with us and with educators what the strengths of these materials and what are the weaknesses of these materials.

If you are interested, I think this conference will be on May 13, and we can probably send an invitation to some representative of the committee, if they would like to attend.

Now, obviously, the existence of ethnic heritage studies centers would make this type of work considerably easier because basically the way we have done this is by using our expertise and contacts with largely the media industry, to interest them in this, and to work with certain local school districts to interest them in using these materials and thereby pulling it together in that way.

But New York University is only one of literally thousands of universities. Whereas we are a large university and we have more black students than any predominantly white university we are still just a small unit within the macrocosm of the college society and the public education and private education society.

Therefore, if money were made available and these centers were set up throughout the Nation—and in my particular paper I have suggested that one possibility might be to work toward the guideline of having each State, or in areas where there is not one particular ethnic group that predominates, contiguous States will organize regional centers, and there will be several centers throughout the country devoted to the black studies and several centers devoted to the Jewish

ethnic background, to the Catholic, Polish, Greek, et cetera, based on the concentrations of these various ethnic groups about the country.

Similarly, there will be a coordinating function provided in that there are several generalizations dealing with the whole of the ethnic studies which could be pursued in an organized way so that we don't have to continue to repeat some of the same mistakes that each of us have made. That is one of the reasons we are trying to share, even prior to the establishment of the heritage studies centers, some of our experiences in conferences and in papers, and things of this type.

So I think that, in summary, the idea is quite needed, and I would assume that with the pervasive evidence we can put together through the testimony of people working in this area that there should be no real opposition to the creation of these centers.

The major argument would be that the centers would create diversity and bases of political ethnic power, but in a sense that is sort of canard because the Nation works around polyethnic centers anyway, and to help people to understand their heritage and their relationships to each other would tend to ameliorate some of these differences rather than to exacerbate them.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Doctor, I am very grateful for your statement, and it is a very comprehensive statement on how these centers would operate and what role they would play.

The question has been raised—and I am sure it will be raised again: Do we need this legislation when we have an organization like yours already functioning?

We have a number of other universities that are now becoming more and more aware of this. Of course, my answer has been that this would give it greater emphasis and would give it official recognition, that indeed this is the direction we ought to be moving.

As you have so eloquently stated, the purpose of this legislation is through education to bring people together and not to drive them further apart. If I thought for one second that this was going to lead to divisiveness, then I assure you that I would not be sponsoring this legislation.

But as has been stated previously by Dr. Goodrich and by yourself and other witnesses, it is quite apparent to me that the greatest single gap in human relations in this country today is that here we are, 200 million Americans, literally strangers to each other. It is an amazing thing how little Americans know about each other as citizens and as neighbors and as friends and coworkers, and as everything else.

The more amazing thing is how difficult it is for a teacher to find any material when she wants to teach the children something. My daughter is a schoolteacher. She teaches the seventh grade, and she had a rather polyethnic group of youngsters. She has tried to find material that she could use to sort of let these youngsters know each other a little bit better; let the Irish kid know something about the Italian and Polish and Negroes, and let the others know something about the others, and it is really amazing how you can search and not find anything.

I was very pleased to hear you talk about the film strips and the movies because we are turning more and more to the use of heliotropic aids in education. It seems to me the real strength in this bill is in trying to develop that kind of visual education. I think we can do

more with that than with anything. We are already seeing the results of visual education, and it is so subtle we are not even aware of it, but it is there, such as the big change in advertising in America.

Dr. BROWN. Well, the effect on smoking, for example.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I was thinking when using it for the first time in the history of this country, nonwhites in advertising, all of a sudden millions of Americans get a whole different impression of their non-white citizens of America, and you never saw that before. Youngsters who grew up with one concept of the black man are now suddenly discovering a whole new spectrum of concepts. This is a tiny pebble in the overall picture of trying to understand each other better in this country. That is why I am very pleased to have your experience and the fact that you are now running such an institution.

But I was wondering, would you care to comment on what your answer is to those who ask if this is necessary?

Mr. BROWN. Well, I was thinking about that. Of most of these units, I would say that ours is one of the most advanced, having been organized only within the past year or so.

Unfortunately, although not in your case, generally black studies programs are formed in response to some type of political pressure from the students, black students demanding recognition of their existence in a predominantly white university, where in some instances there had been three or four, there are now a hundred.

As I said, New York University has the advantage of having several thousand black students and perhaps 25,000 black graduates, and we went into it in a very different way, even prior to the planning of such an institute.

However, as I am sure you are aware and have heard from college professors up and down the line, private universities are under considerable pressure, as are public universities, and in order to set up an institution of this type, it requires two things: One is a preordering of priorities, which means certain things aren't done and other things are in creating your funding from scattered sources.

We are fortunate in that we have some private philanthropists to help us get started, and we have also been fortunate in a sense in utilizing the contacts that I and some of my staff members have.

We have been able to interest the media in doing some of these things. However, what we could do would be extended greatly by having some type of program support that we could count on which would allow us to expand both our research efforts and also our developmental efforts more extensively.

I think the model for what is proposed here is really a model that goes all the way back to the National Defense Education Act where certain areas that were considered of importance to society became focused on and became funded and were able to be done in a more organized way.

OUR EXPERIENCE WITH FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR SCIENCE AND GUIDANCE EDUCATION SHOWS WHAT CAN HAPPEN

Not that science education wasn't taking place prior to NDEA or guidance education, but as a result of this, I know, at New York University we had three guidance institutes to train guidance coun-

selors for the inner city. As a result, whereas we may have been training 15 or 20, in about a 3-year span we trained about 100 and were able to do it at even a more effective level, a full-time study, et cetera.

Similarly, whereas my staff and I, and a few people we hire on a per diem basis, work on writing materials and developing films, if we had more support, we would be able to extend our staff commitment somewhat, to be able to try more creative things.

For example, we are using our students in the film arts department to help develop these materials. Now, some of this is very rudimentary because these are students. In fact, if we were able to have centers of this type, whereas I would certainly want students involved, I would also want some professional technical specialists involved so that the quality of the materials could come out a little better.

Similarly, when you move into the whole question of integrating curriculum materials, kindergarten through grade 12, there is a need for pretesting and getting out into the school. Whereas we have had some help from some, there are some others who are reluctant.

I would say another important factor is that an act of this type provides for evaluation, and whereas evaluation and research is something that colleges do anyway, and we want to continue to do this on our materials, an organized evaluation, where you build into your budget as you develop your curricular materials, 5 or 10 percent of your budget goes for subsequent evaluation because we know from experience with a variety of other areas that what you think works just by intuition doesn't necessarily work.

You can work out the most beautifully planned program with beautiful pictures and nice words, and so on, and I can come up with something that is much rougher that works better. Maybe it is something that the kids develop themselves with some line drawings that are not quite so beautifully done. This is something that requires the type of insight that can only be gained by having some professional people working on this overtime.

So I think the argument, whenever you are dealing with the budget, and so on, there is always the argument: Does this need to be done? I think obviously it is a national priority, and I think in terms of the cost of mobilizing the resources, it is pretty clear that this can best be done by having some type of Federal support and moneys that would cover a wide spectrum of things. It would also make it possible for it to be programed.

For example, as you critique your various centers, maybe one center might be focusing on one particular kind of approach and another might be focusing on another kind of approach, whereas we wouldn't be doing exactly the same thing. Maybe we would be doing some of the same things. We could test them out and compare some of our results.

I think this represents certainly, a clear recognition of the needs and is one that really should not be too difficult to defend if we can gain agreement on the philosophical point that dealing with the ethnic heritage of the people in our country is important, and I doubt seriously if anybody in his serious mind could say that being aware of the ethnic heritage of our people is not important. This includes looking at the plusses as well as the minuses.

So many people say black studies is a way of glorifying blacks and creating a new position for all. My theory is to tell it like it is. "Like it is" has some things that are positive and some things that are negative. Probably most things about ethnic groups are positive. On the other hand, there are some crucial positions we need to have discussed and evaluated.

For example, in terms of black studies, the position of Booker T. Washington vis-a-vis the position of W.E.B. Dubois, at the turn of the century, is a perfectly legitimate area of inquiry. Booker T. Washington's position was economic development first, then social equality, and W.E.B. Dubois' position of moving toward social and intellectual equality first was right, and I think a good program of black studies—and I shouldn't say a good program—I should say a program of black studies that attempts to meet the needs of the black people and other people would deal with these issues and would point up the plusses on either side of these issues.

I really believe that this is something that can be done in every area using the appropriate people with appropriate expertise.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Well, that is an excellent statement.

Dr. Brown, I have to go to another meeting. I am going to conclude the meeting here. I just want to add my gratitude for your taking the time to come down here. I think that your experience in this field enriches our testimony and our record here because you are working with it. You know what the problem is. You are able to give it a new dimension and understanding, and I am most grateful for you taking the time to come down here.

I will now turn the meeting over to Congressman Hawkins.

Mr. HAWKINS. Dr. Brown, may I also add my comment to the testimony that I have heard. Although I came in rather late, I apologize for that. But I have read the statement and I have also listened to your testimony very carefully.

I certainly agree with you in what you have said. There is one aspect of the bill that has caused me some trouble, and I am quite sure it has been troublesome to others; that is, whether or not the establishment of these centers, keeping in mind that the appropriation is a very inadequate one, the \$10 million the first fiscal year and \$20 million the subsequent year, and assuming that only a few centers could possibly be established under that funding, then the question arises whether these centers could be confined to a single culture or to a single group or whether or not they would address themselves to the entire American culture and discuss this from the viewpoint of what has been the role of each ethnic group in the American culture rather than, let us say, breaking down into, let us say, a Polish center, a Jewish center, a Black-studies center, and so on.

There are some of us who are somewhat reluctant to break these centers down and devote one center to one particular culture, particularly in view of the fact there isn't enough money to go around, and at the same time recognizing or believing that the American culture is really a sum total of all of these individual cultures.

I know that you have touched on this, but I think the bill needs some clarification. As a coauthor of the bill, I am speaking as to the wording of the bill to make it actually say what the discussion has actually been; that is, are we drifting into a setting up of separate cul-

tural centers, or are we talking about one or two or several centers in which the various cultures are going to be combined under one roof?

Dr. BROWN. I can respond to that. First of all, I have some idea of what it takes to run a center of this type, and you are right when you say that \$10 million would not allow for the development of a large number of centers. I would surmise that if you could get 15 to 20 centers out of that, that would be a lot.

I personally believe in relating ethnic studies, having had some experience with this—as a matter of fact, just last Thursday I was working with a school system which is trying to approach this question of ethnic studies with what they call a multiethnic curriculum. I was one of the people involved in the black aspect of the multiethnic curriculum and, as a result, had an opportunity to talk to the various people involved.

In terms of the curriculum itself, I would concur that over a time space in the curriculum, the relationship and the contribution of each ethnic group should be considered. However, I would maintain that in the development of curriculum materials, it is really going to be difficult for one center to undertake to develop materials. For example, in the New York City area where I live. We have ethnic groups in New York City, but the major ones in numbers are the blacks, and Puerto Ricans, the Jews, the Irish, the Italians, the Germans, and a few other groups.

For example, we have a substantially large Greek community and a substantially Ukrainian group, et cetera. Even if we were to get an ethnic study center, we would have to make some decisions as to which one we would include or not, otherwise the money that is available and the resources that you can mobilize make your efforts so very thin that they are not meaningful.

Therefore, I would opt for something along the lines, as I suggested in my paper, of several centers throughout the country devoted to black studies, several centers, a given number devoted to Jewish, or Italian, or Irish, or what have you.

Then I suggested that there might be some coordinating mechanism whereby maybe one center or another center is responsible for coordinating materials that are produced in other centers and approaches, because from a pedagogical standpoint, materials are just a sort of first step in teaching. Once you have the materials, there is the question of how do you use them. How could you articulate various phases of the curriculum with the other? What type of experience is outside of the classroom, outside of the school, that is related to what you are doing in your teaching. So there is another whole process there—how you use this.

But obviously one of the first steps—or the first step—is to identify your objective and prepare materials.

So I would propose the wording of the bill be clarified to suggest that the ethnic heritage studies centers be limited, I would say, essentially to one ethnic group. If, for certain particular reasons, a given community might feel they can handle two, I would say that might be all right. But, once you get past there, I would say given this number with the resources that will be available to deal with too many more would attenuate the overall proposition and, to a certain extent, even perpetuate something the bill aims to get away from; that is, the "melting pot" theory.

We talked about this in school, so we can rock with it a little—today is Irish day, tomorrow is Polish day, and the next day is Black day.

Now, that is sort of an extension of the proposition, but the thing is, if you are going to deal with these cultures, you have to deal with these in an organized fashion. You have to have a whole to do it—a beginning and an end. I shouldn't say "end" because we don't want to end any culture, but it should have a continuity where one point relates to another point, and I think this is a very important insight.

As I read the bill—and, of course, I was bringing my own bias into my reading—I didn't interpret it that a given center would cover several ethnic groups, but now as I reread it more carefully, as it is proscribed in a particular way, this could happen.

I would certainly urge that we limit the concentration and then distribute these with all of the machinations that this involves, of course, around the country so that there are a number of centers dealing with a number of ethnic groups of necessity, distributed geographically where most of these ethnic groups might be.

Mr. HAWKINS. Well, I think perhaps the bill does say what you had just said on page 2, line 25, and continuing over to page 3. The bill does say that each such center shall carry on activities relating to an individual culture or group of cultures. This is exactly the language that troubles some of us.

In Los Angeles, for example, would the center that is to be established be black studies, one of the major ethnic groups? Would it be for the Spanish-American culture, another prominent ethnic group? Would it be for the oriental culture, or many of the oriental groups and, if not, on all of these? Would there be competition among them, a rivalry among them, to get the money, a limited amount of money, and would they, therefore, be placed under political pressures from these groups competing with each other and in this way, in a sense, creating some animosity, creating some ill feeling because one group is selected rather than the other group?

This happens in every Federal program of assistance to local groups and local groups say, well, if this group gets the money, we are entitled to an equal amount, et cetera. There is competition for too little money.

This has been encouraged on the west coast with the Mexican-Americans, for example. Having gone through this type of experience, this is the thing some of us are somewhat fearful of, unless we attempt to meet that problem head on and meet it now and meet it in this bill, that we are just going to continue this type of feeling.

That is the reason for trying to get it down to something specific and with a clarified approach.

Dr. BROWN. Could I follow on that?

Mr. HAWKINS. Yes.

Dr. BROWN. I am clearly aware of the problems, having worked with some of the decentralized moneys, et cetera. I would say that the counter to that is to say a given community can have an ethnic studies center and to get x amount of money. Really all we are doing there is to bump the problem down a little bit to avoid some of the political clashes.

Whereas from a standpoint of political strategy this might not be the most logical way or effective way of handling it, I think that some priorities have to be established.

I think—and I know this is very, very dangerous from a standpoint of getting support for a bill at this point—that identifying, by some definition, a concentration of ethnic peoples in a given area, 10,000, 50,000 100,000, what have you, and by means of census, we can identify a number of concentrations, and on the basis of that conceivably you could work out a certain proportion of your centers which would be devoted to a black culture, certain proportions to the Jewish culture and certain proportions to the Italian culture, et cetera. Then, from the typical way that grants are obtained, invite universities, private corporations, foundations, and what have you, to submit proposals for carrying out these particular studies.

Obviously, since you have the Spanish-American population on two sides of the Nation, certainly one would be in the Eastern part of the country and one would be in the Western part of the country.

Certainly since you have blacks concentrated in two major areas, one would be on the Eastern side and one would be on the Western side, and so on.

Now, this does require some more research and some specification that might make the bill somewhat unpalatable because it clearly then delineates what your intention is and that is to look at the ethnic heritage of concentrations of people throughout, and then possibly one or two centers might have the responsibility for coordinating these materials, very much like the ERIC, the educational research. That is one model.

There would be a model that I would be inclined to opt for.

A second model might be a model whereby the centers are allocated on some type of geographical population based in terms of the total numbers of ethnic populations there, with the requirement then that in their proposals they show how proportionately they will deal with each of the ethnic groups that are involved.

Now, having had the opportunity to budget my own operation on a very minimal level, I can tell you that a manageable budget for just dealing with something in black studies that does the kinds of things we are concerned with runs \$500,000 or \$600,000 and that doesn't include whatever the appropriate overheads there are, et cetera. So if my operation, which is essentially dealing with Afro-Americans, Africans, and people of African descent in the Caribbean, which deals with some of the Puerto Ricans and West Indian peoples and to expand that to deal with New York City, for example, the Irish group, the Jewish group, the Italian group, the German group, would require a budget of maybe sixfold, a budget of \$3 million.

So that by the time you do that and expect to get any meaningful type of concentration you have really concentrated your efforts into one particular unit and, of course, accelerated the competition.

I am not one of these people who believes that one institution is that much better than another. I think NYU is a good institution, but I think there are other institutions which could also do a good job, but in terms of one additional objective and that is to stimulate within the colleges concerns for ethnic studies. In my opinion, if we involved 18 universities, rather than three, or 18 foundations rather than three, we would have made a service.

So I have suggested two models which could stand up under a logical scrutiny for dividing this money, but my own opt would be to focus

again on the intention of having the centers deal with one ethnic group and then work out some type of allocation on some type of ethnic population basis. Of course, this means that at least one center deals with one particular group and another ethnic group, and perhaps the largest visible ethnic minority group in our society is the black group, would probably have the larger number. This is the way I would opt for it, but I can see that it would come under fire.

Mr. HAWKINS. Are you saying that it should be separated physically as to location, that it would not be possible to, let us say, separate them on the same campus and combine them with some coordinating agencies on the top, but located on the same campus?

Dr. BROWN. Well, you could combine them with some coordinating agency at the top. In one of the universities in New York City they are trying to do this. I know from experience. The problem is just bucked down one level and it raises some serious questions. I am certainly opting for coordination, but I guess I am opting for manageable units so that we don't have this problem.

My institute deals with Afro-Americans. I am certainly concerned with the whole Spanish-American, Puerto Rican-Spanish groups, and we are already working together on a number of things, but it doesn't necessarily have to be in the NYU campus. Possibly the Puerto Rican center might be on the Brooklyn campus, and there could be some type of period consultation between contiguous centers, which in our instance we do anyway.

But so that we do not get hung up by having this obligation that every center will cover every ethnic group or the major ethnic groups, I would really opt for having separate ones. In Los Angeles, certainly, you would have a black center, you would have a Spanish-American center and possibly one other. I don't know. Maybe you would have a Japanese-American center or Far Eastern-American center there.

Representative Pucinski pointed out that some people say we do go into touchy water when we deal with this, but our responsibility as educators and legislators is to face the deal with what the facts are.

One of the roles of this bill is to bridge that gap and by dealing with it explicitly, I think that we bridge it by hedging around—well, this is concerned with all of the major ethnic centers there. This just drops the problem down one more level, and in this instance, I think the Federal Government has some responsibility to establish some guidelines.

Mr. HAWKINS. Of course, some of us are worried that only a small number of the centers will be established because there will not be enough money available to establish as many as you apparently would assume would be established.

That brings us upon another question and that is, do you believe there would be the possibility, and I think you have already referred to this—of various institutions combining to operate the centers and, secondly, whether or not there would be any money available from private sources, foundations and others so that the amount of \$10 million would, in a sense, generate many times that amount of money?

Dr. BROWN. I would concur with that idea. The consortium idea is one that we have used in educational research before. For example, in New York City there is a center for urban education which is a consortium which has on its board of directors representatives of the major universities. They have developed a staff and various ones of us from the universities work with them on various projects.

They are sort of responsible for developing the report and handling the bookkeeping, but we get input from a variety of universities. In our institution, for example, if our Institute of Afro-American Affairs was designated as one of the ethnic heritage study centers for the black, I would definitely assume that we would work with some other units in and around the metropolitan area which are concerned about the whole area of black studies and Puerto Rican studies and other ethnic group studies.

So I can see that we could handle this and also, as I described earlier, we are doing a number of things with private industries and the school system, et cetera, which we would continue to do and possibly one center's funds would supplement another center's funds, so we could really expand our endeavors.

I would hope that legislation wouldn't be so restrictive as some Federal legislation has been that we can't merge people in the Federal programs with people in non-Federal programs.

Some of our institutes have been of that type, for example. Where we had a Federal institute, for example, we couldn't have our regular students going into it as this would push up the cost of the institute. If we could have had a portion of the institute, say 50 percent, Federal supported, and 50 percent private, this, of course, would have cut the Federal cost, and that is another way of packaging it.

I can understand your concern about the competition for the money and possibly the addition of the provision that universities or organizations might work cooperatively in developing the centers would improve the bill. A proposal for such a center might be a way out of this which would keep it open enough for what I propose to happen and yet make it legally possible for units to coalesce if, in fact, this is the way they want to develop their proposal.

Mr. HAWKINS. Again, Dr. Brown, I would like to thank you for your testimony. It has been very helpful.

Does anyone have any questions?

The next meeting of the committee is Thursday at 10 a.m.

The committee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 10:20 a.m. the subcommittee recessed.)

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1970

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
GENERAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, D.C.

The general subcommittee met at 10:10 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 2257, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Roman C. Pucinski (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Pucinski, Quie, and Ruth.

Staff members present: John F. Jennings, majority counsel; Robert Andringa, minority professional staff assistant; and Alexandra Kislak, clerk.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The subcommittee will come to order.

We have six subcommittees working this morning, one next door and some downstairs, so our members are trying to cover as many of these committees as they can and overlap in their activities.

We will proceed with the hearing this morning and there will be members coming in and going out during the proceedings.

I would like to ask Dr. Norman Drachler, superintendent of schools in Detroit, and chairman of the Commission on Ethnic Bias in the Preparation and Use of Instructional Materials, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, if he would be good enough to come forth. We would like to take his statement at this time.

Then we will move along with the other witnesses as we go along.

Dr. Drachler, we are very pleased to have you here. We have had some very exciting testimony on this H.R. 14910. We feel that this proposal for ethnic heritage studies centers can indeed provide the kind of learning material, educational aids about the identifiable ethnic groups in this country which will help the local schoolteachers better let their students know about themselves and the community in which we live.

We are very pleased to have you here this morning as chairman of the Commission on Ethnic Bias in the Preparation and Use of Instructional Materials. I am sure you have had a great deal of experience in this field.

Your testimony will go in the record in its entirety with whatever exhibits you might have at this point and then we will let you proceed in any manner you wish. I would suggest that perhaps we try to allow ourselves as much time as possible with the questioning since the formal testimony is known to us.

Won't you proceed in any way you desire?

**STATEMENT OF NORMAN DRACHLER, SUPERINTENDENT, DETROIT
PUBLIC SCHOOLS, REPRESENTING THE ASSOCIATION FOR SUPER-
VISION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Dr. DRACHLER. Thank you, Congressman.

I would like to with your permission submit for the record a longer statement which I entitled "Textbooks, Guardians of Our Heritage," which is very closely related to the issue and also leave with you, if I may, a study that our school system has made of the treatment of minorities in our textbooks, because I see this bill which I regard as a very sound approach a means of buttressing some of the shortcomings that we have in our general American textbooks as well as those that concern themselves with world history.

(The statement referred to follows:)

TEXTBOOKS—GUARDIANS OF OUR HERITAGE¹

(By Dr. Norman Drachler, Superintendent of Detroit Public Schools, Detroit, Mich.)

In 1788 when Nicholas Pike published his textbook, "A New and Complete System of Arithmetic Composed for the Use of Citizens of the United States," which was later reprinted in many editions, he wrote in his introduction:

"It may perhaps, by some, be thought needless, when authors are so multiplied, to attempt publishing anything further in arithmetic, as it may be imagined that there can be nothing more than the repetition of a subject already exhausted."

In 1970, nearly two hundred years after Pike's publication textbooks and instructional materials are still a subject for disagreement and debate.

I want to express at the very outset my appreciation to the American textbook industry for its accomplishments and to underscore that, although I am primarily concerned today with some of the shortcomings in American textbooks, my remarks are not aimed solely at publishers. We, as educators, are equally responsible if teaching materials do not fully meet sound educational objectives.

Textbook criticism is not new. For the past century there have been continuous demands for studies and recommendations about improving texts, as there have been about improving schools. It is because the textbook is such an important educational tool that we take time to evaluate its strengths and weaknesses. One privilege that all Americans hold in common is the right to criticize anyone—presidents, governors, school superintendents and others—so we are in good company.

During the 19th century, the chief concerns about textbooks dealt with sectionalism and religious differences. A Detroit newspaper in the 1850s, for example, proudly advertised school textbooks "printed in the midwest and not in New England," and throughout the 19th century, Catholics protested the content of American readers and history books.

No one knows better than publishers the difficulty of producing a book that will on the one hand conform to the high standards that each editor seeks and, on the other, still please a majority of the customers. A review of the various articles and doctoral dissertations reveals the concerns that Catholics, Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Germans, Jews, Daughters of the American Revolution, labor, utilities, National Association of Manufacturers, and others have had over what is said in the textbook. If Negroes or Jews are complaining today, they are simply among those who stepped last in line. They have acculturated by now and know that they too have a right to complain.

Back in 1933 an author of an American history text wrote in Beale's "Are American Teachers Free?":

"In trying to guard against criticism and opposition, authors are driven to sins of omission and commission. One puts in topics that he thinks of no importance because he knows they will be demanded and that he will have to insert them by revision. Contrariwise, he suppresses pertinent if not essential details knowing that the inclusion of certain matter would cause him trouble.

¹ Adapted by the author from a speech given at a human relations institute.

I believe that textbooks in U.S. history could be made much simpler, and perhaps more interesting, for children and more teachable for teachers if the authors were not subjected to a thousand inhibitions. And, if any author tells you he is not influenced by such pressure, that he tells the 'truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth' as far as he knows it, don't you believe him. He is a conscious or unconscious liar."

It is important to distinguish between the textbook of 1970 and those of 1916 or even 1940. Although certain elements of discrimination still continue in textbooks, some of today's critics are still complaining about conditions that no longer exist. Historic as well as current grievances still prevail.

The textbook stereotype of the 19th century—unfortunately—still remained as part of the school diet in the first half of the 20th century. Many will remember that the Indian was depicted as either "blood thirsty and savage" or, as McGuffey referred to him, "a noble son of nature." We read too about the "menace of Oriental immigration," and recall the Irish being characterized for "their acknowledged pugnacity—and that improvident restlessness," and numerous other instances of stereotyping.

In various sections of our nation Spanish-Americans and Indians have recently complained about their image in American textbooks. They resent not merely the omission of their cultural contributions, but also the outworn references to the "greed and cruelty of the Spanish colonial program" or to the prejudicial accounts of Indian-white relationships.

After World War I Germany emerged in texts as being "crafty, cruel, designing and militaristic." And the so-called "new immigrants"—the Poles, the Jews, the Russians, the Italians, and others arriving from southern and eastern Europe after 1880—were and often still are referred to in such negative terms as "hordes," "swarms," "ignorant," and the like. Generally treated much better in our texts were the French. Americans, it seems, never forgot Lafayette, although I note that in dealing with modern France we are making some attempts to forget General DeGaulle.

The concern over textbooks reflects the dilemma of public education. America, it is true, was a heterogeneous society from our early days, but public education was primarily influenced by a strong Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, rural orientation. Personally, I think this hegemony healthy for a young school system, since it prevented fragmentation and helped to unify our nation. However, after our nation became firmly established, we failed to re-examine our needs and make adjustments in accordance with them.

As one reviews the history of American public education and its literature of the past 100 years, three stages seem to emerge:

1. Up until 1850 we said: "After all, this is a Protestant nation."
2. From 1850 until 1900 the refrain was: "After all, this is a Christian nation." (Although many Catholics believed that "Christian" still meant "Protestant").
3. From about 1900 we have said: "After all, this is a religious nation"—but we are indefinite as to whose religion.

It is time to recognize in our schools and in our textbooks that America is, after all, a pluralistic society. Both within our nation and on a worldwide scale there is this need for a new look at our school programs and at our teaching materials. But, first let us examine some of our shortcomings.

Primarily there are three areas for concern:

I. OMISSIONS

I do not want our textbooks to be a telephone directory of Catholics, Negroes, Jews, or Poles in the United States. I do, however, believe that acts and deeds of minority groups that have contributed to the dynamics of American society should be represented. I appreciate the selective process facing each editor but let us examine carefully what we *do* include and compare it with some of the important issues and events that we omit.

Although there is a great deal about America's heritage and history that we can justly be proud of, a case can be made that our history has not fully matched our heritage. Thus, if our students are to be intelligent advocates of our democratic creed, they must, particularly at the high school level, understand our shortcomings as well as our accomplishments. They cannot "grow" on history books that reflect a society based on the intelligence level of our western movies, where the world is simplistically divided into "good" and "bad" characters. Adolescents need bread, not pabulum, for maturity.

Most texts, with few exceptions, do not give proper attention to the growth, accomplishment, and support of the public school system. Our children learn very little about the contribution that taxes make to society and its institutions such as schools, and grow up on the folklore that we need not worry about prices, since competition will adjust costs—but “beware of the politician or school official who ‘wastes’ the tax dollar.”

When in 1963 and 1964 the U.S. Supreme Court decisions on prayer and Bible reading were announced, one could find very little in high school textbooks which would enable students to gain a proper perspective of this controversial issue facing America. Yet we have a rich, exciting and impressive record on church-state history that is largely unknown to teachers and students.

Gladys Wiggin of the University of Maryland summarizes, in the following paragraph, her discussion of American textbooks:

“While professional educators have been developing education for nationalism, textbook writers have been creating images of America and the good American. They have helped to enforce such national symbols as the flag, the Constitution, and heroes. They have painted the ideal American and American partly through contrast with and comparison to other countries and peoples. The deepest identification has been with selected European peoples; some of the Europeans plus the remainder of the world have remained outside the American pale. Thus have the textbook writers, along with the legislators, the courts, and the professional educators, created a United States and Americans to people it.”²

My plea is that we re-examine our texts and our history—not to distort the truth or to conceal shortcomings—but to re-evaluate the question, “Who is an American—and what is a worthy American deed?” If we do that then I am certain that more children in our urban schools will achieve through the text a sense of identity with our nation—and a feeling of worthiness and dignity so essential to learning.

II. UPDATING TEXTBOOKS

There is a vast literature which is critical of the interpretation of American history contained in our texts. Let me mention in passing that books dealing with science have done a much better job of updating information than have the social studies books. Despite the aforementioned abundant scholarship that has for some time been critical of our 19th Century viewpoints on American history, our children are still taught outdated concepts of American life.

Allow me to cite from a report by the California State Department of Education. A panel of six American historians, members of the History Department of the University of California, were asked several years ago to review the American history textbooks that are most widely used in California and to evaluate these from the standpoint of their treatment of the Negro. In their introduction, the authors state:

“Always and everywhere our children should be told the truth, and the whole truth, as near as the best current scholarship can bring us to this elusive quality. This means, among other things, not obscuring the harsher aspects of the truth—the fact that Negroes entered American society as slaves, the brutalities of slavery, the racism of the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction era, and the continuing depth and harshness of the problem of segregation and discrimination.”

“In the light of these general principles, the greatest defect in the textbooks we have examined is the virtual omission of the Negro. As several of the individual reports point out, the Negro does not ‘exist’ in the books. The authors of the books must know that there are Negroes in America, and have been since 1619, but they evidently do not care to mention them too frequently. In one book there is no account of slavery in the Colonial period; in a second, there is not a single word about Negroes after the Civil War; in a third (composed of documents and substantive chapters), the narrative does not mention Negroes in any connection.

“As Ralph Ellison’s novel, ‘Invisible Man’ demonstrates, whites frequently do not ‘see’ Negroes. But Negroes are Americans; their history is part of American History. They need to be ‘seen’ in textbooks. What is especially important is that the discussions of Negroes appear as an integral part of the book. Perfunctory or casual treatment may imply that Negroes are not part of America.”

² *Education and Nationalism, An Historical Interpretation of American Education*, by Gladys A. Wiggin, University of Maryland; McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962, p. 289.

III. SENSITIVITY

I recognize that no one group can claim a monopoly on sensitivity; nevertheless, textbook authors and publishers simply cannot afford a lack of it. Our textbooks contain many statements about minorities which are, in some instances, incorrect, and, in others, improper.

The treatment of Negroes in our textbooks has been discussed in a number of doctoral dissertations and articles and need not be reiterated. In addition to the continuance of the stereotype, the lack of sensitivity is striking. In a popular book published in 1961 for Grade 5 on American history, the author informs the reader that students learn some of the "beautiful songs called spirituals" which "the Negro has given us." This is a textbook for all American children taught in cities with 40 per cent or more of the children black. Who are the "us"? A minority child often begins in school with a negative self-image. If this child is to develop motivations for learning, the textbook writer and the teacher must find ways to improve the self-image of this child. He must be treated with dignity. He must be able to associate with the events and people in the book. And he too must achieve an awareness and a sense of pride from the fact that his ancestors have contributed to the making of our nation.

Alienation is not caused only through history or literature books. I have recently examined a number of books dealing with careers, grooming, and so on. There are hundreds of photographs, yet rarely do we find a Negro face in these career books. If these texts would contain only pictures of boys, we would immediately condemn them as being unsuitable for mixed classes. Why should they contain only photographs of white youngsters?

My prize example of insensitivity in textbooks concerns an arithmetic book. About five years ago when I was an assistant superintendent, I was asked by the superintendent to look into a complaint dealing with an arithmetic text. It was a supplementary paperback used in our schools and published by a large national publisher. When I met with the parents' group, and their attorney opened the booklet to the first page, the object of their criticism, I was shocked to see at the top of the page a drawing of a black person sitting in a coal truck and a black person shoveling coal. The heading below the drawing was "Amos and Andy do Arithmetic." And this was a book which was printed in 1961, seven years after the Supreme Court decision!

As I listened to the attorney rake us over the coals for our lack of sensitivity, I turned to page 12 and came across this problem:

"Once upon a time a ship was caught in a severe storm. It looked as if the ship, its crew, and 30 passengers would be lost. In order to save the ship and its crew, the captain decided that one-half of the passengers would have to be thrown overboard. There were 15 Christians and 15 Turks aboard the ship . . . Now the captain was a Christian. So he arranged the 30 passengers in a big circle . . . and announced that he would count the passengers and that every ninth one would be thrown overboard.

"The question was: how could the 15 Christians and 15 Turks be placed in the circle so that all the Turks would be thrown overboard and then all of the Christians would be saved?"

The latter problem gave me an opportunity to assure the parents and their attorney that the book in question was insensitive to mankind, not only to black people, and that it would be removed immediately from all our schools. When the booklets began to pour in to my office, my secretary happened to open one to the first page. Now, this was a 1962 edition and, evidently by then the publisher had hired a consultant. The drawing on page one had been changed! A white man was now sitting in the truck and a white man was shoveling the coal. And—the new heading was: "Jake and Zeke do Arithmetic." Sadly, even in the revision, the stereotype remained!

Many of our children are descendants of immigrants who came to this country after 1880. The treatment of the immigrants in many of our textbooks still reflects some of the biases which brought about the discriminatory immigration quota laws that most responsible Americans and all American presidents have rejected. We continue to stress the illiteracy of the newcomers while we gloss over our own native illiteracy. A question by the elder Kennedy, father of our former president, is most apt. "How long do we have to live in this country before you stop calling us Irish-Americans?" he asked.

Gladys Wiggin, quoted previously, sums up the treatment of certain immigrant groups:

"In modern as in earlier texts the United States was the asylum for the oppressed. But authors pointed out that making these poor benighted folk into good Americans had been no mean task. Some were ignorant, and ignorance was equated with worthlessness and therefore dangerous. Many came from the less desirable parts of Europe. If immigrants came from Northern Europe, the movement into this country was commended. In texts being used as late as the 1940s, Northern Europeans made better Americans than did immigrants from other parts of the Continent. Those who came after 1880 were often described as "waves," "swarms," or "hordes." Anglo-Saxons (pre-1880 migrants) had stability of character—not those who came after the crucial date. Italians, Hungarians, and Poles, according to one text, were slow to become Americans.

"In relatively recent anthologies, Scandinavians were overrepresented. But there was little attention paid to Italians, Greeks, and other non-Anglo-Saxons. Italian-Americans were represented in these texts only by dialect stories. They were ignored in short stories and novels. To enforce the particular character of the American, only solidly "American" names were used to designate countrymen.

"However, Americans wished to share their good fortune with the unfortunates. To them the United States offered free land and the blessings of liberty. In turn, some of them made substantial contributions to the prosperity of this country. Such behavior was no more than right. It was the duty of these favored people to become faithful citizens of the country which gave them so much. In school and college texts of the 1940s, the melting pot was still the ideal solution for building an American nation. Conformity of behavior to a presumed American pattern was preferred to diversity in unity."

Since World War II educators and textbook writers have given greater attention to the treatment of minority groups in our textbooks. It is obviously a challenge wherein we must re-educate ourselves as well as others; wherein we must look at all of American society, as well as at ourselves; and wherein we must then make the commitment to minority groups fully and comprehensively and not offer mere tokenism. Minority groups cannot be simply glossed over with the inclusion of a photograph of a Negro, or a Jewish synagogue. We must concern ourselves with the issues and contributions reflecting the various minority groups that make up America.

In order to do this, publishers will need to widen the backgrounds and experiences of their consultants, and educators must do the same. In his recent study, *The Protestant Establishment—Aristocracy or Caste?*—Baltzell makes the point that up until about 1880 the Protestant establishment in this country maintained an open door in so far as talent and ability were concerned. Then, fearing that the early influences which they cherished were about to be destroyed, suspicious of the change that was taking place in our total society—there crept into this establishment the unfortunate concept of a caste society. Men like Theodore Roosevelt, Elliott of Harvard, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, according to Baltzell, departed from this concept of caste and returned to the genuine idea of the type of genuine aristocracy which looked upon people based on their individual merits, rather than on their national, religious, or racial background. These were the values which contributed to the greatness of these men and America was richer for it.

While we are engaged in correcting the omissions, outdated facts, and the insensitivities in our instructional materials, we will concurrently become involved in the broader and more important task of developing, strengthening, and fulfilling cultural pluralism in our American society. *E Pluribus Unum* does not necessarily suggest a disregard for diversity. An individual may fare well with several loyalties—provided these are not in conflict. Horace Kallen and others have advocated cultural pluralism—not as a mere luxury—but as the fulfillment of the American Idea.

The concept of cultural pluralism obviously calls for a separate and more comprehensive treatment. Briefly, however, it is an area which will increasingly occupy American educators. Colin Greer in the January 1969 issue of the *Teachers College Record*, for example, calls for an American that will "not retreat into the Anglo-conformity of melting pot ideology nor the Americanism of cultural pluralism, but an American which is sensitive to the individual inside the categories." The issue is also alluded to in the April 1969 issue of *Social Education*, where Lorraine Misiiaszek describes the miseducation of Indian children in her

² *Education and Nationalism, An Historical Interpretation of American Education*, by Gladys A. Wiggin, University of Maryland; McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1962, p. 278.

article, "The Cultural Dilemma of American Indians." She underscores not only the insensitivity of the teachers, but the harmful results of our efforts to impose cultural values of one people upon another.

Marjorie S. Friedman, of New York University, asserts in the *Teachers College Record* of January 1969, that the schools have "... attempted to file down or erase distinctive cultural traits", and concludes by stating:

"We need a new pluralism and the shaping of an uncommon school system attractive to both middle-class families and the minority communities, predicated on the notion that knowledge of the minority cultures may be more valid educational stuff. There are the advantages of depth, breadth, and (often) a touch of needed exoticism to freshen the stale air hanging over conformist schools. There are possibilities of creating enriched, world-touching curricula, of widening language teaching and the scope of what is called "American history." Pride might well result for the adults of suppressed minority groups—at last given recognition in the school.

"Educators and communities would have to cooperate to bring this about. There would have to be significant commitment on the part of professionals and, as well, on the part of individual minority groups. As assimilative techniques, based on dominant-minority thinking, continue to cause frustration, hostility, and repeated crises, we may have no alternative but to experiment with a new approach to pluralism."⁴

The election of John F. Kennedy was a turning point in our American history. For the first time a majority of Americans elected to the presidency a man who was not of the Protestant faith. The pluralism of our society was finally recognized at the very highest level of recognition that the American people could give. It is now our responsibility as educators that we too recognize the pluralistic society in which we live and make certain that the gap between American heritage and American practice be narrowed. This objective is America's dream.

Dr. Drachler. First, let me state, Congressman, that as a school superintendent, I recognize the great need that exists within our school system where we have approximately 300,000 children coming from various ethnic backgrounds.

I recognize the tremendous need that we have for developing the kind of program which this bill, H.R. 14910, promises and I wish to add my support and the support of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, whose commission I chair.

As an educator, I believe it important to encourage efforts that will strengthen the pluralism of our society. I believe that this is in keeping with the highest American ideals. An individual can have several cultural loyalties, particularly if there is no conflict among them.

I would like to point out that the election of John F. Kennedy as President of the United States was a turning point in American history. For the first time a majority of Americans elected to the Presidency a man who was not of the Protestant faith. The pluralism, I think, of our society was finally recognized at the very highest level of recognition that the American people could give to anyone in this country.

In the area of culture we have gone through a period where the immigrant, particularly his child striving to be accepted, anxious to become assimilated, has completely shed the rich culture that his parents had brought with them to our Nation. This has resulted, I believe, both in a personal as well as a national loss for our people.

It has also alienated the youngsters from their ancestors and resulted in a homogeneous or conformist American culture which is hardly our national goal.

⁴ "Public School: Melting Pot or What?" by Marjorie S. Friedman, N.Y.U., *Teachers College Record*, Jan. 1969.

There are some signs, as has been pointed out by sociologists, that the third generation of Americans went to remember what the second generation wanted to forget. Although our motto is E Pluribus Unum, it does not necessarily suggest disregard for diversity in our country.

The outstanding and distinguished professor of the new school, Dr. Horace Kallen, who has written on the need for cultural pluralism in our Nation and has been its outstanding spokesman, once expressed the concept that to him America in a sense represents a symphony of many cultural heritages. He compared our different cultural groups with the instruments of a symphony wherein by itself each instrument had unity and a functional role, whether it was a violin, a piano, or another instrument. But the point that Kallen made was that although each of these instruments by itself was rich in tone quality and performance, nevertheless it was only when these instruments played in harmony that a symphony was produced. This bill, I think, could in a sense enhance the American dream and enrich our American culture.

I also believe that the creation of these resources will produce the primary source materials so necessary to improve our school textbooks and our instructional materials in our schools.

I want this group to know that last year our Detroit Board of Education voted for 1 year not to purchase any new textbooks simply because we were not willing to accept the best textbook available on the market. We wanted an adequate textbook and if there was a book that did not treat the minority groups properly and adequately in terms of world affairs or in terms of American contribution, we were not ready to purchase these books.

In my longer statement I emphasize and discuss in detail the kinds of problems that we have. I show that due to the failure of the schools and of the universities to provide our population with greater information about the cultural heritage that their ancestors brought to this Nation, because we have failed to provide the transition where people step into American history from another culture, we have developed a great insensitivity on the part of our schools, on the part of publishers, and on the part of the TV media. We see only the stereotype of the ethnic group and not the valuable contributions, the rich aspects of their culture which they have brought to this Nation.

We had a wonderful opportunity, I believe, during the first generation of immigrants, wherever they came, to enrich our Nation. The schools did not take advantage of it and the communities did not, and this was a great loss. I believe that this bill, if enhanced, could provide supplementary sources for our teachers and enrich our understanding of the development of our Nation.

It is an important link between the present generation and the preceding generation.

Simply as for illustration to demonstrate how far insensitivity exists in our Nation as far as minority groups and ethnic groups, I have brought as an example of all things an arithmetic book, an arithmetic book that I am ashamed to say was used in our schools and which I withdrew 24 hours after I learned about it.

Now it was a supplementary book published, sir, in 1961 by an outstanding publisher. It is a good book, but in terms of sensitivity of ethnic heritages, let me just describe it a minute or two what it had.

On the first page of this arithmetic book for the sixth grade, published in 1961, is a drawing of a black man sitting in a truck and a black man shoveling coal. In 1961, 7 years later the Supreme Court decision, the *Brown* case, the heading on this arithmetic page is "Amos and Andy Do Arithmetic."

In 1961, one of the largest publishers in this country.

As I listened to the parents complain about the book and was ashamed that it had been approved—these were a group of black parents that came to me—I came to page 12 of the book and I found a place where I could rescue myself at least as far as the first page was concerned. If you will listen to this problem, I am sure you will be even more shocked.

The problem is that there was a ship out in a severe storm. There were 30 passengers aboard. In order to save the crew because of a storm that came up, the captain decided that half of the passengers would have to be thrown overboard. The problem is 15 passengers were Christians and 15 were Mohammedans.

The question asks how could the captain, who was a Christian, place the 30 passengers in a circle so that by throwing out every ninth person, all the Mohammedans would be dumped overboard and all the Christians would be saved?

Now this was 1961. When the books were recalled, and they came into my office because I frankly did not want them to go to the warehouse, because I was fearful that our business department might sell them to another school system—when the books came in, my secretary happened to pick up one and she began to laugh and bring it in.

This was a 1962 edition, sir. By that time evidently the publisher got a consultant. So on the front page now it is a white man who is sitting in the truck and a white man is shoveling coal and the new title is "Jake and Zeke Do Arithmetic."

Now you see our stereotypes are such that it cannot be a John or a Jim that shovels coal, it has to be an Amos or an Andy or a Jake or a Zeke.

You know very well as you recall your own textbooks. The Indian was always pictured as savage until Mr. McGuffey was kind enough to call him "a noble son of nature," whatever that meant.

The Spanish-Americans complained that they were always characterized as being greedy and cruel and wanting to take away everything from the poor Indians. The Irish were always referred to as being rowdy and anxious to start battles and fights. The Germans were cruel and militaristic.

Somehow we always treated the French fairly well because we never seemed to forget Lafayette, although as you look at today's textbooks it seems that we are trying to forget General De Gaulle. So our textbooks have had stereotypes, but the most stereotyped of all were the children of the immigrants who came after 1880—the Poles, the Italians, the Jews, the Russians, and so on.

They are always described as hordes of immigrants who settled on our shores and so on. There is nothing that the teacher has or the school system has to describe and help the teacher understand the rich culture contributions that blacks, Negroes, all nations have made to our society.

The only question I have about the bill, sir, is I question the term "centers." I hope that the intent is that the funds will be used primarily in the development of materials and information and not be spent primarily on real estate, on the purchase of structures and buildings.

We are much in need of this resource material, this primary material. I note the growth in our city of various historical societies. We have in our community a Polish Historical Society, an Italian Historical Society, a Negro Historical Society, an American-Jewish Historical Society and dozens of others. They need imprimatur of a university and the school system to recognize the value.

A high school youngster will more likely want to study about his culture if it is offered at the "establishment" school, the high school, than if the church group provides it or if there happens to be in his own community a center where this is given.

I don't want to limit the work primarily to universities or to public schools. I think it should be on a competitive basis to all groups that can produce the materials that will enrich our reservoir for the schools.

When America was young, I think it required homogeneity in order to survive. Today as a strong nation we need to make certain that the full potential of our cultural resources be developed to enhance the growth of our people. Today, more than ever, we need knowledge and understanding, not only of other nations, of other cultures, but more important understanding of ourselves, our roots, our backgrounds and so on.

Therefore, I urge you, sir, to take advantage of this cultural pluralism that does exist among our people. I compliment the committee for taking measures to help us realize the potential that the ethnic heritage of our Nation provides.

Thank you very much.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you very much, Dr. Drachler. You, of course, bring up a very good point and I would certainly make sure that the committee report will make it very clear. This legislation does not propose to spend money on bricks and mortar.

I am sure that most of the institutions that would be participating in these programs would be able to find some quarters to house such a facility.

If you will notice on page 3 of the bill, section 903, it spells out the three principal purposes of this act:

(1) develop curriculum materials for use in elementary and secondary schools which deal with the history, geography, society, economy, literature, art, music, drama, language, and general culture of the group with which the Center is concerned, and the contributions of that ethnic group to the American heritage.

I might say at this point that one center might be working on a number of different ethnic groups.

(2) disseminate curriculum materials to permit their use in elementary and secondary schools throughout the Nation; and

(3) provide training for persons utilizing or preparing to utilize the curriculum materials developed under this title.

I am glad you made that point. The main thrust of this legislation is not for brick and mortar, but for material that can be sent down-range in the classrooms across the country.

Dr. DRACHLER. I might add also, sir, that I believe that from an educational point of view this program as it enriches families, parents,

teachers in our society, can also very well serve as that much needed incentive for children to learn. A youngster in the ghetto who comes from a minority group comes to school under various difficulties—physical difficulties, health difficulties, et cetera. But if he is to step into our society, we really are asking too much of the youngster if he or his family have no knowledge of the cultural contribution and background and history of his heritage. It is like asking a youngster to step into society naked when we asked him to come into a classroom where he looks at books and sees that there are references and associations with various people of the world primarily Anglo, primarily white, and does not find any relationship with his own heritage.

When we developed our first urban series in Detroit where we had black children, city children, and we had drawings of these children, I will never forget the commitment and gleam in a 6-year-old's eyes in an inner-city school when he turned to that primer and he saw for the first time in a schoolbook a picture of a black child. He waved his hand and when the teacher called upon him he burst out and said, "I know this guy." And knowing this guy and knowing himself is what is important, and what is crucial, I think, to help youngsters learn. It is one important factor, there are many others. I am grateful that this bill is being introduced and I hope it will succeed.

Thank you.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Ruth.

Mr. RUTH. No questions.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you, Dr. Drachler. We are most thankful for your statement. I am sure that your statement today in support of this legislation puts a new perspective on its need and I am most grateful to you.

Dr. DRACHLER. If I may I will leave some materials.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes. I think perhaps you ought to leave with us those two books that you made reference to.

Dr. DRACHLER. I will try to get you a copy of it. I keep them because nobody believes me unless I take them along with me. I will get them at least Xeroxed and sent to you.

I am leaving with your staff a study that we have made of 35 books, sir—possibly not one that is as dramatic as this one but I will leave it with you, it was presented before the Senate committee about 4 months ago in regard to this matter.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you very much.

Dr. DRACHLER. Thank you.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We are very pleased to have Congressman Brotzman with us, who is going to introduce our next witness, a very distinguished American author, and author of the book "Nisei, The Quiet Americans," Dr. William Hosokawa.

We are very pleased to have our colleague before the committee. We are tremendously impressed with his work and that he would take time out from his busy schedule to introduce this very distinguished witness. I want to thank you for taking the time out for coming here this morning.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and other members of the committee.

I would like to likewise express my gratitude to the chairman and the subcommittee that has brought so much important legislation to

the full committee and to the floor of the Congress for having the opportunity to introduce a constituent that I am very proud of. As the chairman has already indicated, his name is Bill Hosokawa. He is, I think, well known throughout the Rocky Mountain empire as a very fine journalist presently serving as the associate editor of the Denver Post, really the largest metropolitan newspaper.

Bill is also on his way to national recognition as an author, for last year he wrote an exceptionally sensitive book, now in its second printing, entitled "Nisei, The Quiet Americans."

The Nisei, as the chairman and the members of the committee no doubt know, according to Webster, are sons or daughters of immigrant Japanese parents born and educated in the United States or Canada. Bill is such a man. His parents came to Seattle, Wash., in 1899, where his father became a railroad worker. Bill was born and raised in Seattle and in 1937 was graduated from the University of Washington. He worked on English language newspapers in Singapore and Shanghai prior to the outbreak of World War II in the Pacific, and also as a part of the war relocation program, on the Des Moines Register. He joined the Denver Post in 1946 and has been one of the newspaper's key executives ever since.

It is my great pleasure to introduce a distinguished American whose testimony I believe should be of great value to this particular committee.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you so much.

We will now proceed with the testimony of Dr. Hosokawa. We are very grateful to our colleague for being with us. I know you have a very busy schedule.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Actually I am, Mr. Chairman, but I became so interested in the testimony here I am going to cheat a little bit and hear Mr. Hosokawa's testimony. I was quite intrigued with the first witness, and I will stay here if I may.

Mr. QUIE. Has every Member of Congress received the book Nisei?

Mr. HOSOKAWA. No, sir; not every one but a good many have.

Mr. QUIE. It was a tremendous book. I read it with great interest. Many of us at my age became politically aware about the time that the real problem existed at the beginning of World War II.

Mr. HOSOKAWA. Thank you very much.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Dr. Hosokawa, we are very pleased to have you here. You certainly honor us with your presence. I don't know if you have a prepared statement. If you do, it will go in the record at this point and then perhaps we might ask you to summarize some of your views so that you will have more time for questioning. I am sure Mr. Quie has a lot of questions, I have a lot of questions, and Mr. Ruth. Because time, of course, is of the essence here we would prefer to spend as much time as we can in questioning the witnesses.

Why don't you proceed in any way you wish, sir, and whenever you are ready we will start at the questioning.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM HOSOKAWA, AUTHOR OF "NISEI, THE QUIET AMERICANS"

Mr. HOSOKAWA. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
Thank you, Congressman Brotzman.

I have submitted a written statement, and I would like to read the first three paragraphs for the record and then we can get into the questioning.

First of all, however, I would like to make a very slight correction, Mr. Chairman. I am not a doctor.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Well, you should be with that great book you wrote.

Mr. HOSOKAWA. My son is a doctor but I am not.

My name is Bill Hosokawa, and I am an associate editor of the Denver Post and author of the book "Nisei, the Quiet Americans." The book has to do with the 100-year history of the Japanese in the United States.

I deeply appreciate the invitation to testify at your hearings and I am happy to support the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers bill.

Although I endorse the bill as a citizen concerned with the overall well-being of the Nation, I shall limit my comments to the viewpoint of a member of one particular minority, the Americans of Japanese origin.

I endorse the bill for two primary reasons.

The first is the importance of acquainting all Americans with the facts about the vast array of cultural and ethnic backgrounds that have contributed to the building of the United States.

The second is the necessity for developing within members of the various minorities an understanding of and pride in the contributions of their own groups.

I would like to submit the rest of this statement for the record.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Fine.

(The statement follows:)

STATEMENT BY BILL HOSOKAWA

Mr. Chairman, my name is Bill Hosokawa. I am an associate editor of The Denver Post and author of the book, *Nisei, The Quiet Americans*, published last November by William Morrow & Co. The book has to do with the 100-year history of the Japanese in the United States.

I deeply appreciate the invitation to testify at your hearings on H.R. 14910, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers bill, which I am happy to support.

Although I endorse the bill as a citizen concerned with the overall wellbeing of the nation, I shall limit my comments to the viewpoint of a member of one particular minority group, the Americans of Japanese origins.

I endorse the bill for two primary reasons:

The first is the importance of acquainting all Americans with the facts about the vast array of cultural and ethnic backgrounds that have contributed to the building of the United States.

The second is the necessity for developing within members of the various minorities an understanding of and pride in the contributions of their own groups.

Let me expand on these two points in order.

I am sure you gentlemen are aware of the wartime evacuation of Japanese-Americans, citizens and aliens alike, from their homes on the West Coast into inland concentration camps in 1942. About one-third of my book is devoted to reporting on this bit of history. These evacuees were never accused of any crime. No charges were ever filed against them. Their rights were violated strictly on a racial basis, and the record shows that the evacuation was less a matter of military necessity than the result of fear, hysteria, political opportunism and economic greed. A few shrill voices, many of which were raised mistakenly in the name of patriotism, began the demand for confinement of the Japanese-Americans. A few quiet voices asked for reason and justice. And in the middle, the great majority remained silent, silent because it did not know the facts, and usually did not care. This was true throughout the rank and file of citizenry as well as here in Congress.

There was in 1942 an enormous amount of both ignorance and misinformation about the Japanese-American minority. The misinformation was the residue of the vicious Yellow Peril campaigns of earlier decades when Japanese immigrants were being blamed, unjustly, for everything from the high price of vegetables to the Bubonic plague. The ignorance was regarding the degree to which Japanese immigrants and their American-born offspring had been integrated into the American way of life, their loyalty to the United States and its principles and traditions, and their affection for America despite differences of race.

This misinformation and ignorance resulted in one of the most tragic chapters in United States history, a tragedy that could have been prevented had there been general knowledge and understanding about the Japanese-American minority. I believe that had there been, a generation ago, an ethnic heritage studies program such as is now proposed in H.R. 14910, the shame and heartache, the moral degradation and economic loss, of the wartime Evacuation could have been averted. I believe that the program envisioned in H.R. 14910 will help to prevent like experiences for other ethnic groups in current and future times of crises.

On the second point—that of developing pride and understanding within minorities—I would like to speak on an even more personalized vein.

In my boyhood in Seattle, Washington, being an Oriental in a predominantly Anglo-Saxon society, I grew up with a vague uneasiness that somehow my claim to the American Dream was a bit less firm, a bit less secure than that of my blue-eyed, white-skinned classmates. Their ancestors, perhaps, had been with Washington at Valley Forge, with Grant at Appomattox, in the westward trek by wagon caravan across the Great Plains. And my father, by contrast, had arrived only a few decades earlier in the steerage compartments of a slow boat to maintain the railroads and till the fields of the West. I attained maturity in a society that was based on the Anglo-Saxon heritage, and somehow my own seemed alien if not inferior.

It was only later that I really understood that the United States is a distillation of the cultures, heritages, experiences and wisdom of men and women from many lands and many civilizations, and that my people had contributed mightily to the development of the West. They had helped to clear its forests and plant its fields, to develop its mines and establish its fisheries, to keep the railroads running, its commerce flourishing. And my father was not such a Johnny-come-lately. He had landed on American shores back in 1899; the parents of many of my schoolmates had not arrived until many years later. As I learned of the Japanese contribution to the development of America, I gained a new pride and a new sense of belonging.

In the course of researching and writing my book, I learned a great deal more about the Japanese contribution to the American welfare. In fact, about one-half of the book is devoted to this facet of history. And now I am particularly gratified when I hear from Sansei—the grandchildren of the Japanese immigrants—who tell me of the pleasure and pride they gain from reading in my book about the role of their forefathers in the building of our unique American civilization.

This is the kind of benefit I see for all American minorities—not just the Japanese-Americans—in the program envisioned by H.R. 14910.

For a long time the American Dream has been based on the "melting pot" concept under which ideally all minorities lose their identities and become part of the homogenized mass. Today, we realize that this may not be either possible or desirable—that there are Black and Brown and Yellow and Red elements that cannot or perhaps prefer not to lose their identities in the melting pot. A more reasonable and realistic concept may be likened to an all-American stew in which the various ingredients contribute their flavor and texture and goodness to the product, yet retain their individual identities. H.R. 14910 would foster and strengthen this concept.

I wish to conclude this statement with one small dissent. H.R. 14910 is described as a bill "to improve the opportunity of students in elementary and secondary schools to study cultural heritages of the major ethnic groups in the Nation." My objection is based on the fact that important cultural contributions have been made by ethnic groups that hardly can be considered "major". In terms of numbers my group would seem to fall in the nonmajor category. I would suggest that the word "various" be substituted for "major" to ensure that no minority is slighted.

Thank you very much for the opportunity of being heard.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Hosokawa, you raise a number of interesting points both in your book and in your testimony. I was wondering if

you would care to listen to people like yourself and Dr. Drachler before you, and as I have listened to the testimony before this committee to date, I can't help but feel that we have really been blessed by the good Lord with some good luck.

Here we are, the most heterogeneous nation in the world, probably the greatest experiment in the world by bringing together millions of human beings of different cultures and different religions, different races, and it is astounding the complete lack of any information in any of our instructional material on this special aspect of the American community. We have for 100 years now, or more, tried to homogenize human beings into a monolith.

I am wondering if you care to comment whether or not the turmoil among the young people, particularly in this country, is not a search for identity that we have tried to deny and conceal in our current educational programs which lack completely any reference at all to the heterogeneous nature of our country as contrasted to most other countries of the world. Most other countries have an overwhelming majority of one people so they don't have the cultural conflicts, there is no problem there. But it seems to me that this rubric of ours, which is a marvelous experiment of bringing together so many different people, has almost tried to deny as if there was a conspiracy to deny the heterogeneous aspect of our existence.

I am wondering if we are not paying the price for that.

Mr. HOSOKAWA. I rather doubt that there is any intentional conspiracy to deny that.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Of course, I am aware of that. I say you almost think there is, because you don't see anything in our textbooks at all.

Mr. HOSOKAWA. This was very true in my youth. I grew up in a community that was made up of immigrants of various groups. About two-thirds of the youngsters in my grade school were of the Jewish faith and during the Jewish holidays there would be just a small handful of us in class. But at that time, although we were all very much aware of the differences in our backgrounds, the thrust of the educational system was to emphasize our Americanism, that regardless of our ethnic origins we were all Americans. In the great desire to make us Americans the teachers pretty much ignored our own backgrounds. We were encouraged to forget that we were different and taught that we were all one. Obviously, this was a fine ideal but it did not work out in practice and today I feel that more and more people are beginning to understand that we can be Americans and still be people with interesting and valuable backgrounds and all of us can contribute to the welfare of the United States.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think that we would probably agree that there is no better example of what we are saying here this morning than the need for this kind of educational material. Then the great tragedy in American history, the treatment of the Nisei at the beginning of World War II when American citizens as loyal as anyone else, born in this country without a trace of evidence, not an iota of evidence to question their loyalty were just herded away into detention camps and treated like the enemy.

I would think that if at that time we had orientation along the lines that we envision in this bill perhaps that black page of our history could have been avoided. There is no question in my mind that this is

one of the darkest pages of American history. It is one that we Americans will just never be able to explain or justify. We just have to plead complete ignorance and as a Nation say we committed a great wrong.

I am of the impression that if we had had this kind of orientation in the decade or two preceding that incident, that probably if there would have been just a suggestion of that kind, that course would have been repelled, denounced by the American people.

Would you agree with that, Mr. Hosokawa?

Mr. HOSOKAWA. Yes, sir, I would agree entirely. The evacuation and its aftermath was made possible because of the ignorance in the greater American public about this minority. The falsehoods, the misinformation that had existed prior to 1940, 1941, were dusted off, spread all over again and the vast majority of the American public had no knowledge, no information about this minority. If the truth had been known, I am sure the American public would not have permitted the sort of thing that happened in 1942 to have occurred.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Ruth.

Mr. RUTH. No questions.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I have one more question.

I am glad that you brought up the point that we are now starting to realize that there is no conflict between being a very loyal, dedicated, good American yet aware of our own ethnic heritage. It seems to me that as we bring into focus these two phenomena which really are one, I think we realize that we actually with this bill are trying to make better Americans. We are trying to make us all better citizens by knowing more about each other.

It is really astounding when you ask yourself, where do Americans learn about each other today—through rumor, through gossip, through innuendos? There just is no real program that I can find in our educational policy.

We get a tremendous amount of mail from teachers who want to know if we have any material on this subject for their classes. These historical groups that Dr. Drachler talked about, I know they get a great deal of inquiries from teachers who are aware of the fact that they ought to be teaching their young wards something about the various ethnic and religious and racial groups in their community.

Of course one of the main functions of this bill is to develop teaching aides for teachers.

Now, one point was made here in the testimony and I would like to get your view on that. There was a question raised as to whether or not ethnic centers like this could become political institutions. We have had some experience along those lines in the black study centers at Berkeley, Calif., for instance, where the center was closed. The distinction was drawn between that sort of center and the centers we envision in this bill run by educational institutions to develop some specific educational curriculum material, nonpolitical material.

Would you care to comment as to how we can make sure that these are purely academic pursuits because I am sure that neither you nor I nor anyone else would be urging this course if we thought there was the slightest possibility of these becoming political institutions which would polarize ethnic differences.

The whole thrust of this bill is to bring better understanding, bring better education among the people rather than polarize them. I think

the polarization exists now; the thrust of this bill is to try to break through the polarization.

Would you care to comment on that, sir?

Mr. HOSOKAWA. I would venture to predict, sir, that as we come to understand each other better, as the program progresses, there will be less of this sort of political pressure. We are at a very tense point in our history where certain minorities, as you well know, are, let's say, fed up with the system and are looking for violent change. As your program progresses, as the effort to circulate information advances, we are going to get less and less of this sort of pressure, I am sure. I think it would be a great mistake to let any sort of political pressures dominate the program, that in the beginning it may be necessary to concentrate almost entirely on the cultural aspects of the ethnic studies program.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I notice, for instance, in some of the material that we have seen come across here during the course of these hearings in the Black studies program there is a tendency to deal for the most part with successful Negroes in American history and they totally leave out the tremendous cultural history of many of the African nations that predate us by centuries. There is no mention made of that. So the average American, the average person in this country does equate the Black community primarily with the 300 years when they were brought here involuntarily as slaves rather than going back into their history predating that time sphere. It does seem to me that Secretary Rogers made that point so well recently when he was visiting Africa and he said that 10 percent of the American population traces history to many of the countries of Africa and then as you look at that history in the countries of Africa in many cases predates that of our own history.

This would of course be the hope of the centers, to develop this kind of information.

Mr. HOSOKAWA. We have made a small step in this direction by supporting a Japanese-American history project at the University of California at Los Angeles, and this has been made a repository of as much information as we have been able to gather. I would presume that this storehouse of documentary material would be made available to the program once it gets underway.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Well, we are most pleased to have you here and I want to express my gratitude and the committee's gratitude. I am sure that your testimony does add to this legislation.

I am very grateful to our colleague, Mr. Brotzman, for being here with you this morning and taking the time out.

I certainly want to thank you, sir.

Mr. HOSOKAWA. If I may, I would like to present a copy of my book to the committee for its study.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is most kind, sir.

Mr. HOSOKAWA. The Japanese-American Citizens League asks that I submit its letter to the committee for the record, and with your permission I would like to enter that.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Without objection, that will be entered into the record at this point.

Thank you very much. We are most grateful.

(The letter follows:)

JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE,
Washington, D.C., February 26, 1970.

Hon. CARL PERKINS,
Chairman, Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), may we urge favorable and early action on H.R. 14910, a bill "To provide a program to improve the opportunity of students in elementary and secondary schools to study cultural heritages of the major ethnic groups in the Nation", cited as "The Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act of 1970".

As you know, the JACL is the only national organization of Americans of Japanese ancestry, with chapters and members in 32 states. As far as we know too, JACL may well be the only national organization of Asian-Americans in this country. In any event, all of our members are native-born or naturalized citizens of the United States. Most, but not all, of our members are also of Japanese origin. Our general objectives are summarized in our national slogan: "For Better Americans In A Greater America."

With only about half a million of us, Japanese-Americans are one of the smallest, in terms of numbers, of the many nationality minorities in the United States. At the same time, however, we are the largest, also in terms of numbers, of all the Asian peoples in the nation who, altogether, total less than 1,500,000.

These population references—incidentally—illustrate the predominantly European background of the American nation, and the Judeo-Christian culture of most of the American people. They also indicate one of the reasons so little is known among most Americans about Asian-Americans in general, and Japanese-Americans in particular, as well as the region of their ancestries.

Ever since JACL was organized as a national organization in 1930, many of us have felt that perhaps the greatest contribution we could make to the adopted country of our parents and to the land of our citizenship was to try to explain to our fellow citizens the culture and the aspirations of the Japanese, and to the Japanese themselves the heritage and the hopes of America.

Many of us also believed that the study of Asian, including Japanese, culture and history—available to all students in the elementary and secondary schools—would be a most effective means of promoting an understanding and appreciation of the problems and aspirations of the more than two-thirds of the world's population who live in Asia and the countries of the Pacific Basin, thereby contributing to the peace and prosperity of the area.

This great dream, if you will, was an impossible one, for we were too few in numbers, with too little in the way of resources, to develop that kind of national study program. Besides, in those days prior to World War II, such cultural studies were suspect, if not un-American and even treasonable.

Understandably, the history texts used in the public schools then, and even now—by and large—devote practically all of their space to the epic of western man, while providing only a few pages at most to the saga of Oriental civilization. Thus, most Americans developed a distorted view of Asia and Asians, let alone of the immigrants and their children from the Far East who have contributed so much to the development of the country in the past century, particularly in the conquest of the then frontier west.

What has this failure to know more about Asia and the Pacific meant to the United States as a nation? Some historians and sociologists would suggest that our comparative ignorance of this vast area and its many peoples has contributed to the tragedy that three times within a single generation our nation has become engaged in armed conflict with Asian countries, with greater losses in men and treasure than we have suffered overseas in any other generation.

And what has this lack of understanding about Japanese-Americans meant to us Americans of Japanese origin?

To many Americans, one of the gravest violations of the civil rights of any group of citizens occurred in World War II, when those of Japanese ancestry were arbitrarily evacuated from their West Coast homes and associations and detained in what many have come to describe as concentration camps—American style.

In retrospect, social scientists are suggesting that if more Americans, and particularly those residing away from the Pacific Coast with its century of anti-Orientalism, had been aware of Japanese-Americans in 1942 and their record of exemplary citizenship in spite of persecution and discrimination directed against them for more than 50 years, that mass military movement of more than 110,000 men, women, and children would never have been sanctioned by the Federal Government, or tolerated by the public at large.

But because those of Japanese extraction resided almost exclusively on the West Coast and were relatively unknown east of the Rockies, except for prejudicial newspaper and motion picture treatment, we became the innocent victims of that unprecedented deprivation of freedom and property.

How racists and bigots translated lack of knowledge on the part of most of the populace into insidious prejudice is well documented in the experience of the Japanese in America. The anti-Japanese propagandists who conjured up the so-called Yellow Peril menace in the 1920's, for example, charged that the reason immigrant Japanese did not become naturalized citizens was that our parents and grandparents did not intend to reside permanently in the United States, but that they planned to return to Japan with their American-born children after they had made their fortunes in this land. The fact of the matter—as members of the Congress know—is that our federal nationality laws from the beginning of the Republic in 1789 to December 1952 prohibited alien Japanese from the privilege of naturalization. Furthermore, the failure of the immigrant Japanese to purchase land was also used as an argument that they did not want to "dig their roots deep into American soil and make their homes here". The fact is that the so-called anti-alien land laws of 15 western states prohibited the purchase or ownership of land by those "racially ineligible to citizenship".

Moreover, this misleading claims against the Japanese alien were used in part as an appeal to Congress that resulted in the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924, which was only relaxed by the token quotas allocated to Japan, and to the rest of Asia, in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 with its Asia-Pacific Triangle, and was completely abolished in the Amendments of 1965 which eliminated both the racist National Origins system for determining annual immigration quotas and the doubly racist Asia-Pacific Triangle that applied only to those of Asian or Pacific ancestry.

These racial smears were accelerated, and enlarged, after December 7, 1941, and contributed much to the executive and military decisions that brought about the forced evacuation of a civilian population in the spring of 1942, without trial or hearings, at a time when our courts were functioning.

But, even more meaningful, is that the Pacific War itself was partly due to the enactment of the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924, which undercut the liberal movement in Japan and encouraged the ultra-nationalists and imperialists to attempt the military adventures that cost so many nations millions in wasted lives and billions in needed dollars.

Out of such tragic experiences as these, the JACL has become an advocate of such legislation as H.R. 14910, whose "Statement of Policy" recites that "This title is enacted in recognition of the heterogeneous composition of the Nation and the fact that in a multi-ethnic society, a greater understanding of one's own heritage and those of one's fellow citizens can contribute to a more harmonious, patriotic, and committed populace. It is further enacted in recognition of the principle that all students, in elementary and secondary schools of the Nation should have an opportunity to learn about the differing and unique contributions to the national heritage made by each ethnic group. It is the purpose of this title to assist schools and school systems in affording each of their students an opportunity to learn about the nature of his own cultural heritage, and those in which he has an interest, and to study the contributions of these forebears to the Nation."

As its small contributions to the cultural and ethnic concerns of Japanese Americans, the JACL has several projects under way at this time.

One is the effort to secure classes in the Japanese language in the secondary schools, Edward Yamamoto of Moses Lake, Washington, is the chairman of this special program.

Another is to encourage the establishment of classes in Asia-American studies, including those involving the Japanese in this country, in the high schools and the colleges and universities. The Northern California-Western Nevada District Council and the Pacific Southwest District Council, two of the major districts into which JACL is divided nationally for administrative purposes, have been

in the forefront of this program. The development of information, materials, and curricula for such specialized study has been taken up by several chapters as local projects that might be later expanded into a national effort.

Probably the best known is the so-called Japanese-American Research Project (JARP). Under the chairmanship of Shigeo Wakamatsu of Chicago, a past national president, a special committee has been set up which solicited contributions from Japanese-Americans that provided \$100,000 to the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) to fund this JARP program. Carnegie Corporation and the National Institutes of Mental Health subsequently contributed funds to what we understand is an unprecedented, three generational, national study of a racial minority in the United States. Professor T. Scott Miyakawa of Boston University organized and directed this project in its initial stages. Professor Robert Wilson of UCLA is its current director. Bill Hosokawa's "Nisei: The Quiet Americans: The Story of a People" is the first of the published works to result from this JACL-inspired effort. A more scholarly and definitive volume is to be authored by Professor Wilson and published soon. In addition, special books and papers relating to various aspects of Japanese Americans history and life are to be written and published from time to time. Professor Gene N. Levine of UCLA is the principal investigator for the JARP program, while Joe Grant Masaoka is its administrator. Hopefully, UCLA will find the necessary funding to continue this innovative project in cultural and ethnic studies beyond its current August 31 termination date.

These specific projects, and its experiences with the lack of cultural and ethnic identity and knowledge, have convinced JACL of the necessity for federal government leadership in this vital and urgent area of technological and anthropological studies, not only for Japanese-Americans but for all other disadvantaged, denied, and disillusioned Americans who have suffered travails in some instances even greater than those undergone by Americans of Japanese ancestry in this country.

JACL, accordingly, urges favorable and prompt action on H.R. 14910 as a necessary first step to promote cultural and ethnic studies of all the American nationalities and races and colors and creeds everywhere in the nation as a means to help reduce racial and other tensions in this troubled country of ours, and the world at large as well, in a dangerous age when thermonuclear war might well end in the destruction of man and his civilization.

Respectfully submitted.

MIKE MASAOKA,

Washington Representative, Japanese-American Citizens League.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Our next witness will be Dr. Leonard Fein, assistant director of the Joint Center on Urban Studies of Harvard and MIT at Cambridge, Mass.

Dr. Fein, we are very, very pleased to have you here and have a chance to listen to some of your testimony this morning. You, I presume, will have a formal statement to go in the record at this point. I see your statement here. Perhaps you would like to briefly summarize so we have a little more time for questions.

STATEMENT OF DR. LEONARD FEIN, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, JOINT CENTER ON URBAN STUDIES OF HARVARD AND MIT, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Dr. FEIN. Indeed, sir, I am very pleased to be here.

I would like to limit my brief comments to what I see as the main issue represented by this bill which is really its underlying purpose.

Not so very many years ago there was a widespread expectation that distinctive patterns of ethnic behavior were destined to vanish, to be swallowed up in the great American melting pot. The unhyphenated American was seen at best as a passing anachronism, at worst as downright subversive. I think this bill reflects the fact that such a view is increasingly difficult to sustain, particularly in the face of

mounting evidence that for many Americans even three and four generations after their forebears arrived in this country their special background is still a matter of interest and, not infrequently, of genuine importance.

For myself, I don't find that either surprising or distressing. The issue that our society faces, it seems to me, is whether we will continue to assume either implicitly or explicitly that the ideal American is the unhyphenated American who has turned his back on his own past, and continue to view those who cling to their ethnic background as problem cases, or whether we can come to see the hyphen as a potential resource rather than as a threat.

The new emphasis on this I think has discouraged many Americans many people of good will who remain firmly committed to an American dream based on the concept of universal brotherhood. It seems to me, however, that we ought to recognize that what has been rejected is only the liberal conception of universal brotherhood, and hardly the American reality. That reality has remained far removed from the liberal perception; instead it was, and is, a reality based very much on the preservation of roots and groups and private fraternities.

We understood that, I think, in the behavior of Italo-Americans when Florence was flooded, of Jewish-Americans during the weeks preceding the 6-day war, of Irish-Americans and Greek-Americans today who are deeply caught up in the struggles of their native lands. America remains a collection of groups and not of individuals, no matter how liberals might wish it otherwise.

It seems to me this issue bears a special relationship to the current crisis in black and white relations. Upper-middle-class America particularly cannot speak for, and certainly cannot deliver, lower-middle-class America, yet it is lower-middle-class America, given white and black income distributions, which is asked to accept blacks as neighbors. If this situation is to be confronted at all, lower-middle-class America will have to be met on its own terms, which are, substantially, ethnic terms.

I think this is the key issue, Congressman. Many people, nonetheless, remain deeply convinced that to permit and to endorse the validity of the ethnic experience, except as that experience is seen as essentially quaint rather than meaningful, is to invite ethnocentric chaos. Many people continue to view the survival of ethnicity as an anachronism, symbol only of how far we have got to go to reach utopia, not fundamental challenge to the definition of that utopia. After all, so much of the history of human anguish has derived from the existence of walls which artificially set man apart from this neighbor that it has seemed perfectly plausible to invest great efforts in tearing down the walls.

The difficulty, of course, is that the walls are there to stave off the uprooting flood, and that is the point you were making earlier in your comments on the relationship between this proposed legislation and the crisis of identity and alienation among American youths. If the sociological critique which characterizes the contemporary American condition as the lonely crowd is at all correct, and I believe it is, then the question that arises necessarily is how the lonely crowds may be converted into meaningful entities.

A sensitive answer to that question would begin with where people are and not with where a relatively select group of liberal intellectuals and upper-middle-class businessmen would like them to be. Where most people are is that they feel the need for brothers, but are highly skeptical about whether a world of universal brotherhood will give them the brothers they want.

In a world in which everyone is your brother, brotherhood cannot mean very much.

The question that arises then is a question which many of us have generally avoided—the question of whether it might not be more productive to build bridges to connect the walls than to insist on their destruction. Perhaps, that is, we might replace the rather fatuous concept of universal cousinhood, which acknowledges our kinship in the family of man, but permits us to be somewhat more selective in our choice of fraternity.

I think what this adds up to is that by insisting on dreaming the impossible dream, we may well have postponed, rather than hastened, the advent of a more modest utopia than the one we had envisioned. By insisting that men be what they were not disposed, perhaps not even able to be, we may have prevented them from becoming something better than they were. By attacking the very existence of groups, we may have served to embitter the relationships among them; were we to devote ourselves to their relations, our activity would be seen as less threatening, and we might not now be faced with what amounts to a revolt of working ethnic America against those who continue to ask of it a price it is not prepared to pay.

I am reminded—and I think it is instructive—of the story of Lachish, a development area in Israel. During the very heavy influx of immigrants to Israel in the early 1950's, Israeli planners sought to blend the immigrants into a united Israel in order, if you will, to dehyphenate them, to forge the new Israeli. Accordingly, they took people from diverse origins, and placed them in agricultural villages next door to one another. What they got, in return, was not the new Israeli, but a lot of fist fights, since it turns out for example, that Yemenites go to bed at 6 o'clock, but Iraqis stay up until midnight with the radio blaring. After several false starts, the Israelis hit upon a scheme which called for the construction of a network of ethnically homogeneous villages, surrounding an urban core. The central services were all located in the core—the schools, the shops, the theater, and the like. People were forced, thereby, to interact with strangers, but, if the going got too rough, they were able to go home, to their own kind, and relax. In this manner, a balance between the past and the future was sought, and, from all the evidence, has been achieved.

So I would submit that an alliance of these groups for whom the past is still a relevant input to the present—that is to say, whites and black alike—seems a more natural alliance than the artificial coalition of enlightened liberals, sheared off, for better or for worse, from their own roots, and underclass blacks, now anxiously exploring theirs. If we who have sought the role of leadership, can resist our instinct to convert, that natural alliance may yet emerge, and, if it does, that will be an urban coalition to be genuinely excited by. What is required of us, therefore, is not so much intense, commitment to a special vision of the future, but more a readiness to act as a kind of social ballast,

lending our support to those who seek to build community as against those who seek to destroy it, on the one hand, and lending our support to those who seek to prevent the debilitating insularity which has too often in the past been the consequences of community, on the other.

Now I have some feelings about the kind of scholarly research that needs to be done to provide a basis for the curriculum proposed and about the dangers that the materials might very well be ethnocentric and narrow rather than genuine and reliable, a reasonably accurate interpretation of the group past, and also about the need to expose children not to their own past only but to the past of others.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Let me interrupt.

Dr. FEIN. Please do.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you have any suggestions, Doctor, as to how we could insure against that kind of development, because, obviously, the thrust of this legislation is to prevent that sort of a political structure. I am not aware of that problem but I would be grateful if you have suggestions as to how we can minimize it or actually eliminate it.

Dr. FEIN. I am glad you said minimize, because I don't think you can guarantee against it.

The bill as I read it now proposes that the development of materials for each group shall be performed at a different center. The presumption would therefore be that the likely applicants will be people with special backgrounds on their own ethnic groups. The American-Jewish Committee might be a plausible organization, let us say, to develop materials for Jewish Americans. I don't know what the analogy would be in the Polish community but I assume there are similar organizations.

The danger of that, of course, is that they will try to put their best face forward and really produce pabulum rather than history. There are seamy chapters in the history of all the ethnic groups of this country. The stereotypes that have come to be attached to ethnic groups are frequently not made out of whole cloth, they are gross exaggerations based on partial truths. It seems to me if we are talking about genuinely challenging young people we don't want to present them with myths. It seems to me, therefore, there has to be some agency which is more dispassionate, perhaps, that might review the kinds of materials that are developed by the separate agencies, each working on one ethnic group, and in particular that the implementation, the dissemination and the training of teachers should be done by people wholly unconnected with the development of materials themselves but people who are especially qualified at the very difficult problem of dissemination.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The finished product of this center will have to be viewed by teachers all over the country, and they will obviously, if the material is of such a nature as you have characterized it, reject it. Or if it is a political vehicle I am sure that the teacher who is going to be the final judge on whether or not he wants to use it in the classroom, the school principal, the school superintendent, the people who will use this material just will refuse to use it.

Dr. FEIN. I wish, Congressman—

Mr. PUCINSKI. It seems to me that if the material is not used, then of course someone has the right to say how come.

I would imagine that the General Accounting Office would be on the back of a center like this pretty quick if they were cranking out material that is not being used. Somebody would have to start asking some questions why. It is a problem and I hope though that this problem does not obscure the main thrust of the legislation.

Dr. FEIN. I don't think it should. I wish I had more confidence in the likelihood or in the readiness of the school systems to avoid putting pabulum into the curriculum. I don't think the history supports any confidence in that area.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Then the other safeguard on this will be the other ethnic groups.

Dr. FEIN. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I know in Chicago we have the Annual United Captive Nations Week. I never realized there were so many ethnic groups until I attended a few of these sessions—the various diverse groups for instance, in the Soviet Republic, that we had almost forgotten about, didn't realize that they were in existence. There are still people tracing their ancestry to those groups. I notice while they all work very harmoniously together, they do provide a kind of check-and-balance system against each other if there are any efforts or successes. I think that we can certainly minimize or keep an absolute minimum of the abuses in the program.

Dr. FEIN. I surely would not want my caveats to be interpreted as dampening my support for the enthusiasm or the intent of the bill.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I appreciate the fact that you raise these questions because if there are any questions I want them raised now during these hearings, I want them talked out. I would not want someone at some later date to say, "Well, you never looked at this particular possibility," because that is the way legislation gets defeated.

Dr. FEIN. Do we have time for a quick illustration of the kind of tension here?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes.

Dr. FEIN. There is a hero in my past unknown to most of you. His name is Haim Salomon, and according to what I was taught in Hebrew school—

Mr. PUCINSKI. He saved the Revolution.

Dr. FEIN. He had saved the American Revolution. Without him there would not have been an American Revolution. I went to public school and I never ran across his name, from which I drew two conclusions: One, the public schools are anti-Semitic, which came as no surprise because this was during the Second World War and I expected it; and second, I took a perverse pleasure in the fact that one of my heroes saved their Revolution and they didn't even know about it.

Now it was important for me to learn about Haim Salomon because that gave me a stake in the Revolution which I, the child of immigrant parents, might not otherwise have had. On the other hand, it would have been wrong for the public schools to have made a chapter out of Haim Salomon because he was a footnote to the American Revolution.

Now to achieve that balance between the making of chapters out of footnotes or of excising footnotes completely is precisely where the difficulty is going to lie. I think it can be done, but I think we ought to be sensitive to it.

(Dr. Fein submitted the following speech:)

REFLECTIONS ON THE URBAN CONDITION

(Speech by Dr. Leonard Fein, Associate Director, MIT-Harvard Joint Center on Urban Studies at the 1969 Annual Meeting of Urban America, Inc.)

May 20, 1969

It is odd, I think, and deserving of note as a minor postscript to these parlous times, that those of us who profess to expertise spend so much of our time trudging dutifully from conference to fruitless conference. When the history of this period is written, whether by a lineal descendant of, say, C. Van Woodward or, perhaps, by some future anthropologist of primitive societies, surely eyebrows will be raised over this phenomenon. Unless, of course, the authors of that history realize what we now come to understand, that there is a direct correlation between the volume of anguish we sustain and the number of conferences we attend. For we are here, huddled together in these more or less opulent surroundings, to draw warmth from one another, which is to say, some of us have come in search of inspiration, some in search of magic formulas, some merely to escape the intolerable frustrations of their more conventional pursuits, but all in the hope that we shall leave with some new understanding that will carry us over the next crisis, and the one after that.

Yet we meet, as it were, in the shadow of Watts and of Detroit, and, as if that were not enough, in the shadow of Cornell and San Francisco State and the Ambassador Hotel and Dallas and Memphis and if you want to know what else just read tomorrow's newspaper, in shadows now so crowded in on one another that the last chinks of light and understanding are nearly covered over. There are, of course, those who still profess confidence, who insist still that soon, around the next turn, perhaps, the nightmare will be over, and we shall be able to reassert the dream. But the numbers of those who believe dwindle daily; most of the remaining stalwarts are confident because they are paid to be confident, or because they are cultists, believing that if only we will think well, we will be well.

Assassination was once a trauma; it is now a cliché. Unrest was once an eruption; it is now our condition. In a world cluttered with crisis, who but the professional soothsayer or the very young can still face the morrow with certainty? Let us be candid: for all our bullish talk, for all our "If only Vietnam were over" or "If only Congress would wake up," for all our "If only this" and "If only that," for all our heady public pronouncements, our private mood is bearish, we are no longer certain of our world, of ourselves, of our dream.

Which are, I readily confess, not quite the dispassionate words of scholarship, much less the inspirational rhetoric, which you were entitled to expect. Three years ago, my files tell me, my efforts on occasions such as this were largely analytic; two years ago, my style was to chastize and to goad; last year, the melancholy had begun, but was still more counterpoint than theme. But a year ago was a very long time ago indeed, and this season, I must begin with the mood.

I do so not only out of my private need to share the melancholy of the moment, but also because I believe that we are now, as a nation, increasingly engulfed by bleakness, and save as we understand how it is we have come to feel so massively beset we shall be unable to summon the energies that are now required of us.

There are, it seems to me, two kinds of reasons for the current malaise. The first is that we have been caught unawares. The success story of America, until very recently indeed, had overwhelmed us, the pride we justifiably felt in being partners to an unfolding of progress so startling and so uninterrupted was deeply rooted, and it has been difficult therefore to comprehend real dissent, real disaffection, real rejection. Of course, we had endorsed dissent and debate. But it had hardly occurred to any except a few eccentric social critics that anything truly fundamental might be wrong. Even now, it is safe to say most of us continue to believe that a little tinkering here and a minor adjustment there will turn the tide. As before, we are prepared to speak on behalf of significant social change, but what we intend by significant is hardly what is intended by those who challenge the system today. It is, therefore, disconcerting to discover that a pat on the shoulder or a reassuring smile is not sufficient to sooth the rebels. It has been enough before; it was enough for us; why does it no longer suffice?

The second source of our malaise, I think, is the recent hyperbolic growth in our agenda of public concern. Not too long ago, we could catalogue the outstand-

ing problems of the nation fairly quickly. Let us recall, for example, that poverty was not discovered as a significant social problem until six short years ago, that pollution is newer still, that disorder in the streets and unrest on the campus and a growth in crime that could not simply be discounted as a statistical artifact are all hardly toddlers, as problems go. And, at the same time as these new problems have erupted, the old problems have not gone away. The public agenda has become a bedsheet ballot, added to each day. How can a man who professes to care cope with the explosive volume of the things he is supposed to care about? Unless we can begin, as a nation, to solve problems as well as to identify them, to wipe issues off the slate as well and as add new ones on, we who now stagger will surely stumble.

I exaggerate, of course. Here and there, there are success stories to be told, moments of delight and relief. Project Upward Bound, a quiet and competent activity of OEO, has redeemed better than twenty thousand young people otherwise doomed to wasted lives; the incomes of a significant number of Black people have increased substantially in the past decade; a new generation of political leaders is rising in our cities, tough, untutored, often rude, and more often talented beyond all expectation.

It is equally true that there is much that lies within our competence to do, if we can but muster the will. Our unacceptable record with respect to housing this nation, once perhaps pardonable on the ground of a primitive technology, is no longer tolerable. If we do not yet know quite how to do the job that needs to be done, surely we know how to do a job vastly more impressive than the job we have been doing. So, too, regarding urban transportation, waste disposal, and a dozen other problems. Our past performance in these areas is not an accurate guide to our present potential.

But these successes, and these prospects, dramatic though they be, have been overshadowed by the emergence of newer and more urgent claims on our attention, and overshadowed more by an indulgent rhetoric which almost totally obscures what it is we are about and how we are doing.

And we, who count ourselves the men of purpose, the guardians of the public weal, bombarded by accusation from this side and from that, increasingly recoil and withdraw. Uncertain any longer of our own credential, diffident about our erstwhile claims to expertise, assaulted by the right for moving too far too fast, and by the left for moving too little, too slow, we spend more and more of our time defending the amorphous middle, and wondering who our allies are, and who it is that is the enemy.

Searching for the villain is a cherished American pastime, however unproductive it typically proves. Until recently, the enemy was clear. Bull Conner was the enemy, apathy was the enemy, evil was the enemy. And evil meant the evil of the benighted, of the heartless, of the redneck North and South. The dream was clear, and the faces of those who impeded the dream were no less clear. Seventy-three per cent of a sampled group of male White school children in the South reported either indifference or pleasure upon Martin Luther King's assassination, and that was the enemy; fifty-six per cent of those sampled in the Supplemental Studies for the Kerner Commission believe that Negroes have themselves to blame for their worse jobs, education, and housing, and they are the enemy; nine per cent of the American voters cast their ballot for George Wallace, and they are the enemy. Nice, simple, neat. Our task, we thought, was to defend the oppressed masses against the bigoted hordes, and we proposed to do the job by favoring the oppressed, on the one hand, and by re-educating the bigoted, on the other.

That was the truth of the center, yesterday's truth, the liberal truth which so long informed our behavior. It was not an especially imaginative truth, nor were we impressively successful in acting upon it. When, therefore a newer truth came to be articulated, a truth which held that society itself was the villain, and we the agents of its villainy, many found it more appealing. Our own ranks were depleted by the defection of those who preferred the new dispensation, a dispensation so terrifying in its implication that we had not seriously imagined it might ever become gospel. But, for whatever reason, gospel it has become, aided and abetted in the process by the utter fatuity of well-intentioned citizens impatient with the validity of our traditional assessment.

And so, in recent months, we have come to be as preoccupied with the transgressions of those whom yesterday we so resolutely defended, as yesterday we were concerned with the transgressions of their enemies.

With cannon to right of us and cannon to left of us, shall we, as our sturdy ancestors, ride valiantly onwards, and, if we do, shall we meet a similar end?

Or shall we dismount and leave the field of battle, thereby permitting the forces of yesterday's darkness and the forces of tomorrow's darkness to fight it out with one another?

I believe that there is still a role for us, and a critical role at that. But I believe as well that, like the beleaguered members of the Light Brigade, we have charged off furiously in the wrong direction, and to pursue that direction is to invite their fate. Specifically, I want to suggest to you that our traditional definition of the American dream is a definition that lacks plausibility, and that be redefining, we may yet find it possible to act as a bridge between right and left, between yesterday and tomorrow.

The case that I propose to make is clearest with respect to Black Americans, and so it is with them that I begin.

The conventional assumption of men of good will, with respect to the question of race, has been, and in large measure continues to be, that race is an accident, with no social meaning. Accordingly, the ideal society is the color blind society, the society in which Negroes are randomly distributed throughout the social structure. The message of White society to the Blacks, therefore, has gone something like this:

If you can manage to distinguish yourself from your unfortunate brethren, if you can demonstrate that you are not lazy, shiftless, given to violence, aggressively sexual, illiterate, drunk, then, with some reservation we will let you in. Remember, however, that when you enter, you must not look back. If you must invite your old friends to visit you, make certain that you don't invite too many at one time, and that none is blacker than you. Otherwise, we shall be forced to re-examine your own credentials. In fact, it would be best if you did not seek out your old friends at all, for now that you can live with us, of what use are your yesterdays to you? You have been graced, and we no longer see your blackness, if you will promise not to see it either. We promise to be color blind, if only you will be amnesiac.

It might have worked, had we been serious. We had said that we would admit the Black man if only he were not too Black. But, as a nation, we continued to see only the blackness, and not the man. The Negro in White eyes was Black until he could prove that he was White, and the proof had to convince a very skeptical jury.

And now, of course, the Negro has seen his blackness mirrored in our eyes, has learned that though America might cope with the integration of an occasional citizen of darker skin, it was not and is not serious about integration of the Negro community. Negroes in large number have understood that integration for the masses was and remains a myth, and so have turned from the unproductive denial of identity to the proud assertion of identity.

Needless to say, this new turn has grieved many people of good will, who remain firmly committed to an American dream based on the concept of universal brotherhood. That is, after all, a powerful and compelling dream, and it is the heart of the liberal understanding. According to that understanding, expressed just a year ago by President Johnson, "Most Americans remain true to our goal: the development of a national society in which the color of a man's skin is as irrelevant as the color of his eyes."

Yet we must recognize that what has been rejected is only the liberal vision, and hardly the American reality. That reality has remained far removed from the liberal perception; instead, it was and is a reality based very much on the preservation of roots, and groups, and private fraternities. When Florence was flooded, Italo-Americans responded as Italians; when war threatened in the Middle East, Jewish-Americans responded as Jews; today, Irish-Americans and Greek-Americans are deeply caught up in the struggles of their native lands. In short, White liberals, in dealing with the issue of race, have invoked a standard to which White society in general does not conform. For Negroes to seek individual integration, rather than group cohesion, would be for them to respond to a liberal perception which has little to do with the way Americans, in fact, behave. For America remains, in deeply important ways, a collection of groups, and not individuals, no matter how much liberals might wish it otherwise. Upper middle class America in particular cannot speak for, and certainly cannot deliver, lower middle class America, yet it is lower middle class America, given White and Black income distributions, which is asked to accept Blacks as neighbors. If this situation is to be confronted at all, lower middle class America will have to be met on its own terms, which are, substantially, ethnic terms.

In responding to the traditional liberal perspective, Black people, then, may now be read as saying something like this:

Our Chief mentors in the battle for civil rights were upper middle class liberals, who, for reasons of their own, cling to a vision of a universalistic social order. We accepted their belief and their doctrine, and acted upon it. It produced some rewards, but, in the end, we found ourselves still unmelted in the hypothetical pot. And, in looking about more carefully, we have found that other groups have retained their particular identities, have resisted wholesale assimilation. We conclude, therefore, that liberals are trying to impose upon us a standard which derives from their philosophical ideal rather than from the sweaty facts of American social life. We rather suspect, in fact, that liberals have misread the American social experience, for they are, in their own way, too far removed from its major elements. Moreover, we are interested in tactics, not in utopias. We shall, therefore, resist being held to a form of behavior which we find both non-productive and outside the mainstream of American life, which is still, in its core, and despite liberal wishes, group life. We shall resist being the guinea-pigs for a vision of society so out of touch with social reality.

Yet the liberal utopia dies hard. For liberals, and their sociologist mentors, remain deeply convinced that to permit and to endorse the validity of the ethnic experience, except as that experience is seen as essentially quaint rather than meaningful, is to invite ethnocentric chaos. Most liberals continue to view the survival of ethnicity as an anachronism, symbol only of how far we have got to go to reach utopia, not fundamental challenge to the definition of that utopia. So much of the history of human anguish has derived from the existence of walls which artificially set man apart from his neighbor that it has seemed perfectly plausible to invest great efforts in tearing down the walls.

The difficulty, of course, is that the walls are there to stave off the uprooting flood. If the sociological critique which characterizes the contemporary American condition as the lonely crowd is at all correct, as I believe it is, then the question that arises necessarily is how the lonely crowds may be converted into meaningful entities. And a sensitive answer to that question would begin with where people are, and not with where a relatively select group of liberal intellectuals and upper middle class businessmen would like them to be. Where most people are is that they feel the need for brothers, but are highly skeptical about whether a world of universal brotherhood will give them the brothers they want. For in a world in which everyone is your brother, brotherhood cannot mean very much.

The question that arises, then, is a question which liberals have generally avoided, the question of whether it might not be more productive to build bridges to connect the walls than to insist on their destruction. Perhaps, that is, we might replace the rather fatuous concept of universal brotherhood with the more proximate concept of universal cousinhood, which acknowledges our kinship in the family of man, but permits us to be somewhat more selective in our choice of fraternity.

What this adds up to is that by insisting on dreaming the impossible dream, we may well have postponed, rather than hastened, the advent of a more modest utopia than the one we had envisioned. By insisting that men be what they were not disposed, perhaps not even able to be, we may have prevented them from becoming something better than they were. By attacking the very existence of groups, we may have served to embitter the relationships among them; were we to devote ourselves to their relations, our activity would be seen as less threatening, and we might not now be faced with what amounts to a revolt of working ethnic America against those who continue to ask of it a price it is not prepared to pay.

I am reminded of the story of Lachish, a development area in Israel. During the very heavy influx of immigrants to Israel in the early 1950's, Israeli planners sought to blend the immigrants into a united Israel, in order, if you will, to de-hyphenate them, to forge the new Israeli. Accordingly, they took people from diverse origins, and placed them in agricultural villages next door to one another. What they got, in turn, was not the new Israeli, but a lot of fist fights, since it turns out, for example, that Yemenites got to bed at six o'clock, but Iraqis stay up till midnight with the radio blaring. After several false starts, the Israelis hit upon a scheme which called for the construction of a network of ethnically homogeneous villages, surrounding an urban core. The central services were all located in the core—the schools, the shops, the theatre, and the like.

People were forced, thereby, to interact with strangers, but, if the going got too rough, they were able to go home, to their own kind, and relax. In this manner, a balance between the past and the future was sought, and, from all the evidence, has been achieved.

I submit that an alliance of those groups for whom the past is still a relevant input to the present—that is to say, Whites and Black alike—seems a more natural alliance than the artificial coalition of enlightened liberals, sheared off, for better or for worse, from their own roots, and under-class Blacks, now anxiously exploring theirs. If we who sought the role of leadership can resist our instinct to convert, that natural alliance may yet emerge, and, if it does, that will be an urban coalition to be genuinely excited by. What is required of us, therefore, is not so much intense commitment to a special vision of the future, but more a readiness to act as a kind of social ballast, lending our support to those who seek to build community as against those who seek to destroy it, on the one hand, and lending our support to those who seek to prevent the debilitating insularity which has too often in the past been the consequences of community, on the other.

You may reject this role, and the formula on which it is based. As against our traditional utopias, which we have labored for so long, it seems a peculiarly restrained statement. You may argue that to endorse the private loyalties which tie some men to others but not to all is to endorse an atavistic urge with no rational foundation. Some, in fact, are inclined to argue that the effort of Black people to recreate their past is a hopeless effort, since that past is largely meaningless.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is a hero in my past unknown to most of you. His name is Haim Salomon, and according to what I was once taught, he saved the American revolution. When I found, in public school, that his name was nowhere mentioned, I drew two conclusions: First, the public schools were anti-semitic, which, this being the Second World War period, came as no surprise. And second, I drew perverse pleasure in knowing that one of my ancestors had saved your revolution, and you didn't even know his name. Haim Salomon was, of course, only a footnote to American history, but by converting that footnote into a chapter I staked a claim on the American past I would otherwise not have had. I put it to you that the past is always nine parts myth, only one reality. The validity of the past is not a matter for historical research, but simply a function of its usefulness in the present.

If others now seek to discover their own Haim Salomons, whether their names are Crispus Attucks or Fiorello LaGuardia, we would, it seems to me, be well advised to support the effort. For if we continue to resist the notion that black is beautiful, we are likely not to persuade Negroes that Black is not beautiful, but, rather, on the contrary, that only Black is beautiful. That perversion of creative pluralism is rightly seen as dangerous. I put it to you, however, that by failing to see the beauty in blackness, or in Irishness, or in Polishness, or in Jewishness, we have ourselves helped create the perversion, we have ourselves helped induce the present ugliness.

To which, finally, you may well say that as an antidote to the national distemper, the prescription is odd indeed. Where are the housing programs, where the medical services, where the jobs, where the schools, where the programs and the policies that will solve the urgent problems of the moment? Ideologies, after all, are for scholars to debate, not for men of action to consider. To which I am duty bound to respond not only that the thought is father to the deed, and that we ought by now have learned that thoughtless action, frenetically undertaken to meet the crisis of the moment, is hardly a productive style, but more that save as our thoughts, which is to say, our ideologies, come more sensitively to reflect the world we seek to change, they are idle thoughts at best, and will bear, as they have thus far borne, rotten fruit. Tilting with windmills, however romantic, is not productive. I ask, if you will, that we cease dreaming the impossible dream and fighting the unbeatable foe, but turn instead to the plausible dream, a dream rooted in the American reality, and hence more open to the American potential.

Mr. PUCINSKI. It just seems to me, though, that you have made the point beautifully in your testimony, and Mr. Hosokawa made it earlier, Dr. Drachler made it earlier, that one of the problems I think we have is that young children, particularly not knowing about each other, are dominated by the prejudices of ignorance instead of the strength of respect.

Dr. FEIN. What is very serious is how many youngsters in white ethnic groups have turned on to their own past as a result of the black power movement, and that has been perhaps one of the most unforeseen, unintended, and beneficial consequences of the black search for the past and roots.

Mr. PUCINSKI. On Lincoln's birthday I reminded my colleagues that there was a gentleman who issued his own emancipation proclamation 60 years before Lincoln was born, and on the same date, February 12, and that was a general of the American Revolution, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who left his will in this country with Thomas Jefferson and asked him to leave all of his estate here to free Negro slaves and to educate them.

Dr. FEIN. I didn't know that.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You will never find that in American history books. Sure it may be footnoted but it is the footnotes that make up the amount of the mosaic of this great country of ours.

Dr. FEIN. That is interesting.

I would footnote Superintendent Drachler's statement about Kallen's symphony, that we need not learn to play in harmony but retune our ears to hear the natural harmony which to outsiders may seem cacaphony.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am truly most grateful to you for your testimony here because you have certainly put into perspective the strengths of this legislation, some of the problems, and obviously we are concerned with both aspects. I am very grateful to you. I like particularly your statement about the bridges between the walls. I can't help but feel that somehow or other we are now paying the price for trying to homogenize 200 million human beings.

I find the whole doctrine of the melting pot frankly very repugnant. I don't want to be melted down to a monolith.

Dr. FEIN. Try a beef stew with identifiable chunks of this and that but a gravy holding it all together.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I don't want to be melted down. For decades we have kept trying to, as you have said, deny people their identity and then we wonder why we have problems. I like that illustration recognizing the fact that there are going to be walls between human beings.

It really is quite a coincidence that my mother happened to be in the United States when I was born. She could have been in France or Argentina, any number of places—it is quite a coincidence that she was here. So thank God I am an American. I am an American of certain cultural backgrounds which I have inherited during the years from my predecessors. I think that you are so right when you say we ought to recognize this in human beings and then see if we cannot build some bridges to bring Americans closer together as one nation of people.

I must tell you when I introduced this bill I didn't realize the tremendous problem and the tremendous potential. It is witnesses like you who have really enriched my understanding and appreciation of the need for this legislation.

Dr. FEIN. Thank you so much, sir.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am most grateful to you for your testimony.

Dr. FEIN. I am thankful for the opportunity.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Now if it is agreeable to all the other witnesses, we have another committee going next door and then I have to be before the Rules Committee—I should have been there at 10:30. If it is agreeable, we would like to resume at 2 o'clock.

Will this create any great problems for anyone? I would like to resume at 2 only because it will give us a chance to go a little deeper into the testimony.

So if this will create no great problems for anyone, we will appreciate it if the remaining witnesses will be back here at 2 o'clock.

Thank you very much.

The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 11:20 a.m. the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. PUCINSKI. We will resume our hearings this afternoon.

Our first witness will be Mr. Hugh M. Jenkins, executive director, and Mr. Eugene R. Chamberlain, president, National Association for Foreign Student Advisors.

I understand Mr. Chamberlain, you are associate director of admissions at MIT in Cambridge, Mass.

We are very pleased to have you gentlemen here. The other members will be coming along, they are still on the floor voting. I think we will move along because I understand you gentlemen have some travel connections to make. You both have statements which will go into the record in their entirety. Why don't you proceed in any manner you wish.

STATEMENT OF EUGENE R. CHAMBERLAIN, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR FOREIGN STUDENT ADVISERS, WASHINGTON, D.C.; ACCOMPANIED BY HUGH M. JENKINS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Thank you, Congressman.

I would simply like to emphasize the section on page 2 of the statement which is in the record. I would like to refer particularly to the proposal that the ethnic heritage studies centers draws upon the special knowledge that is available within the foreign student population in this country. There are at this time according to the annual census which is conducted by the Institute of International Education over 121,000 foreign students enrolled in colleges and universities across the United States. They come from over 170 countries and territories. They represent an immense variety of cultures. They are to be found in each of the 50 States. Among the group are a limited—and I emphasize that—number of students who are well qualified to provide the contemporary picture of life in their homelands and present the latest chapter in the cultural development of their peoples.

At the same time, although this is not specifically within the purpose of this act, the use of foreign students will provide these visitors from across the world with an intimate and authoritative picture of the American people and their way of life. Such cross-cultural experience can only add to the educational development of all involved and

provide an opportunity for the acquisition of authentic knowledge out of which may grow mutual understanding.

As a footnote to that, Congressman, it is interesting to note that within the States represented on our good committee I would estimate that there are about 50,000 foreign students enrolled in universities and colleges therein. On the one hand, you have California with approximately 19,000 foreign students, Illinois with some 6,800, New York with about 15,000, and Maine with 220. And also within these States in Illinois, in New York, in California there have long been established international houses with which you may be aware and acquainted with in which Americans and nationals of various countries live, discuss, conduct programs of a cross-cultural variety, and in a sense are centers of activity not unrelated to the objectives of your particular bill.

I just would like to pause here and say that we are in support of your bill and we welcome questions from you that you may have in mind.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Jenkins?

Mr. JENKINS. I have nothing to add.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You have no testimony, I take it?

Mr. JENKINS. No.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think you raise a very good point. These visiting students can make a good contribution, particularly in perhaps language translation and research and translating either from the foreign language to English or from English to the foreign language. I didn't realize that there were many foreign students in this country enrolled in the colleges and universities. It is a very impressive figure. It seems to me that these centers would afford an opportunity to utilize their talents a little more effectively.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I would leave with your committee a copy of a public document which is called "Open Doors," and this is the current edition of 1969. I refer to it and it is published by the Institute of International Education, and therein is a complete documentation by State of the foreign student population, of the foreign scholar population, of the American professors who are abroad, faculty members abroad, and American students who are abroad. This may add further dimensions to your particular bill in terms of the resources of people who can play a part in these centers.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I would think that these foreign students would be a very significant source of manpower and help for this program frankly at a cost which I think would be interesting because so many of these students are looking for some additional employment and they are not looking for excessive pay, they are trying to get along as best they can, just enough to keep going. So it does seem to me like this could become a very important source of manpower for these programs.

Now what about the Ogontz plan in Pennsylvania? How is that worked out? You told us that you have a plan going. Maybe you could tell us something about this.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I would defer this to Mr. Jenkins.

Mr. JENKINS. The plan is in the schools of the Delaware Valley area. It is operated out of the International House in Philadelphia and it is a plan by which selected foreign students are selected to support the teacher in the classroom in various subjects such as world history and

cultures of the world, and so on. It has been carried out since 1961 only in that area.

In 1961 I think it was the Carnegie Foundation that provided funds for there to be an outside evaluation of the program, and it is to that evaluation that we refer in our report that program has improved to be very successful, the use of foreign students in these situations on a selective basis have proved to be very worthwhile.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I think if I might add a footnote to that, the participation students in programs outside universities is one that has to be conducted with great care. Undergraduates coming here from abroad are here with serious intent and a disruption of that program in terms of their daily routine has to have real appeal to them to make this a meaningful experience.

We have had some experience with this, and to move off base from the corridors of the university to a high school requires a particular kind of sensitivity to the task of talking with youngsters, and to be well briefed on what the message is to be. Not all of us as human beings are so gifted and therefore the selection of participants in the program will require very careful attention.

One of the contributors in terms of programing such activities off campus would be the advising of foreign students or his associates in working with groups who are interested in attracting students to participate in this fashion.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Very good. I think that you have added some insight into this bill that we have not had testimony on previously, and that is the reservoir of students who are available to assist in manning such centers. I think that this would be a very worthwhile addition to the overall program. We are most grateful to you for being with us. Of course this testimony really fortifies my own hope, that this legislation will be adopted. I think that it can make a very significant contribution in the educational process of our youngsters.

Thank you, gentlemen, very much for being with us.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Thank you very much, Congressman.

(The prepared statement follows:)

STATEMENT BY EUGENE R. CHAMBERLAIN, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR FOREIGN STUDENT AFFAIRS

INTRODUCTION

My name is Eugene R. Chamberlain. I am Associate Admissions Officer and the Foreign Student Adviser at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I am here in my capacity as President of the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, the professional association of those who are engaged in the field of international educational exchange of students and scholars. Our Association was established in 1948 and now has a membership of over 1,600, of whom some 700 are academic institutional members. The Association's membership comprises the Advisers to Foreign Students and Scholars, the Admissions Officers who are responsible for the evaluation of foreign educational credentials, Teachers of English as a Second Language, and representatives of community organizations who are serving foreign students. There are also representatives from public and private organizations and business enterprises which are concerned with international educational exchange.

PURPOSE

I have come here to speak in support of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act of 1969. The purposes of this Act speak to an essential need in education today and its forward looking intent will make a significant contribution to the

education we provide for American youth. In these days when the explosion in communications and in world travel have brought us all into one community, the inter-cultural dimension in education becomes an urgent necessity. Young Americans must be knowledgeable about the culture and background of people who, once remote, are now, of necessity, our neighbors. It is precisely for this reason that they need an understanding and an appreciation of their own citizenship and the wealth of ethnic and cultural resources which are the heritage of the American people. This Act will provide that knowledge.

FOREIGN STUDENTS

I would like to refer particularly to the proposal that the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers draw upon the special knowledge that is available within the foreign student population in this country. There are at this time, according to the annual census which is conducted by the Institute of International Education, over 121,000 foreign students enrolled in colleges and universities across the United States. They come from over 170 countries and territories, they represent an immense variety of cultures, they are to be found in each of the fifty States. Among this group there are a limited number of students who are well qualified to provide the contemporary picture of life in their homelands and present the latest chapter in the cultural development of their peoples. At the same time, although this is not specifically within the purpose of the Act, the use of foreign students will provide these visitors from across the world with an intimate and authoritative picture of the American people and their way of life. Such cross-cultural experience can only add to the educational development of all involved and provide an opportunity for the acquisition of authentic knowledge out of which may grow mutual understanding.

PRECEDENTS

In using foreign students for this purpose we shall not be engaging in an untried and unproven experiment. During the years that foreign students have been on our campuses there have been many formal and informal programs at local and regional levels to give them the opportunity to talk with their fellow students and the American community about their own countries and people, and to give American citizens an opportunity to interpret this country and its way of life. To give one specific example, I would refer to the Ogontz Plan, one of the more successful programs which operates in communities in the Greater Philadelphia and Delaware Valley areas. This plan aims primarily at the mutual enlightenment of American pupils and foreign students through systematic interaction in classroom situations and in the school environment. It was established in 1961 and during the school year 1966/67, 142 foreign students from 51 countries visited 50 elementary and secondary schools in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. A total of some 14,000 pupils were involved. In 1966 Dr. William W. Brickman, Professor of Educational History and Comparative Education in the University of Pennsylvania made an evaluation of the Ogontz Plan and the information given above is drawn from his report. I should like to offer one direct quotation from Professor Brickman's conclusions, as stated on p. 82 of this report:

"With few exceptions, the Ogontz Plan was received with understanding and approved by university professors and administrators, public and private school administrators, and educational organizations concerned with international values. There were some critical and skeptical expressions of opinion about specific details, but virtually no negative attitude as to the soundness of the basic concepts and framework of the Ogontz Plan. Nearly everywhere throughout the country, there were persons who wished to undertake, at an early opportunity, an experiment with the Ogontz Plan or with a variation that was deemed necessary in a particular region."

CONCLUSION

Speaking again in more general terms I would like to emphasize the fact that among the foreign student population in this country there are adequate resources to provide the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers with persons who are qualified and would be willing to participate in this activity. There would, of course, be a number of safeguards that would be required, among these the most important might be the proper selection of the most appropriate students and the super-

vision of their work in the Centers. In this respect I should mention that in practically every college and university where there are foreign students there is a Foreign Student Adviser who has been charged by the institution with the particular responsibility for these students. Such persons could provide a point of contact with the college and university for the operation of the program. And I believe that one of the more attractive aspects of the Act is the fact that it would provide new areas for direct cooperation between the university and its international student community and the elementary and secondary schools across the country. Finally, I would like to point out that while I have been speaking mainly to the idea of using foreign students I think it essential that this should not be allowed to confuse my support of the Act. The Act, is clearly and specifically directed to improve the opportunity of *American* students in elementary and secondary schools to study cultural heritage of the major ethnic groups in the Nation. It is in these terms that I support the Act and for these reasons that I hope that it will be passed.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Now we are happy to have Rev. Leonard F. Chrobot, the academic dean of St. Mary's College in Orchard Lake, Mich.

We are very pleased to have you here. I know you have an advance copy of your statement which will go into the record in its entirety. This is an excellently prepared document. It certainly gives us some very good insights as to what already is being done and what is the potential if we can get a program like this off the ground and funded.

I am well aware of the work that St. Mary's College is doing in terms of Polish studies. In the last few years you have become pretty much the source of authority for such information.

I wonder if I could ask you a question at this point. You may answer it now, or perhaps you may want to answer it later, after you have made your opening statement.

I want to make sure that the ethnic studies centers become a source of educational material, and not anything that would tend to polarize differences. I hope there is some point at which you will address yourself to this problem.

You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF THE REVEREND LEONARD F. CHROBOT, ACADEMIC DEAN, ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, ORCHARD LAKE, MICH.

Dean CHROBOT. That question was broached this morning in the discussion with the man from Harvard, the question of nationalism or nationalistic tendencies in relation to cultural pluralism. I think that the younger members of national groups, especially of the second and third generation, no longer would tolerate the kind of nationalistic aims that my grandparents probably would have favored. Today they can be much more objective.

The interests that we find in our students who are second and third, sometimes fourth, generation students of Polish background, tend to be very objective. You simply cannot put anything over on them regarding a nationalistic kind of atmosphere.

I think too that there is a kind of a natural check among people in academics regarding this kind of thing.

One of the things I will talk about later in my paper is the research that is necessary. The ethnic groups in the United States still exist a lot on myth. We have few facts. We know more about the aborigines in Australia than we do about the Polish community in Buffalo, N.Y. Orchard Lake has been encouraging research in the ethnic studies, especially in the area of Polish, because we feel that once we have

more facts, we will be able to be more objective in this kind of emphasis.

First of all, I would like to thank you, Congressman Pucinski, for the introduction of this bill. I think it is a significant step forward in development of the American ethos.

I would like to congratulate the men who have supported you on this bill. I speak from my own personal conviction regarding the importance of ethnic study in the United States. I also speak as a teacher of American literature, as a dean of a college, and as a priest.

The rather lengthy paper that I have written is divided into two parts. The first part is a general rationale for why I think ethnic studies are important in the United States. The second part is how Orchard Lake has functioned trying to give the Polish-American communities the kinds of materials which I will show you later on.

I think that there has been a profound and disturbing change that has somehow taken place in America today. It is impossible to say exactly when this happened, but the kind of hope and the kind of experience that America has always stood for, no longer seems to exist, especially among our young.

I did not experience what America meant until I went to Europe, to Poland, as a matter of fact, and there talked to a village peasant to see in his expression the idea of what America really means. It was the idea of hope that—after all the millions of years we have lived on this planet, man could live someplace together, in peace, without war. And this was America.

This vision of America has been expressed many times before by some of our great statesmen—Washington, Jefferson, Adams, some of our writers in American literature, Michel de Crevecoeur in his "Letters From an American Farmer," Israel Zangwill in his reference to America as "the Great Crucible," and Archibald Macleish speaking of the necessity of differences among us. But perhaps the most eloquent was F. Scott Fitzgerald in "The Great Gatsby" when he said: "America is the last and greatest of all human dreams." And he added: " * * * for a transitory enchanted moment man must have held his breath in the presence of this continent, compelled into an aesthetic contemplation he neither understood nor desired, face to face for the last time in history with something commensurate to his capacity for wonder."

The American dream has become for many of us the American nightmare. The streets that were to flow with milk and honey now are blocked with rubble by the latest demonstration or riot.

Our embassies have been stoned, our representatives have been mocked. I think that America is in a time of crisis.

The greatness of a nation does not depend upon its military or economic strength; our experience of history should have taught us that. The greatness of a nation depends upon the concept of man we have, our vision of what man should be.

Our history tells us of our past mistakes. Our solution of the Indian "problem" and of the black "problem" only emphasizes the biblical warning that the sins of the father are paid for by the son. We have answered problems in the past with expediency. Now we are paying the price for that.

There is something very wrong with a nation in which a human being must change his name or dye his hair to merit our respect. There is something very wrong when an American girl feels compelled to say, "I am of Dutch ancestry, but I am doing something to cure that." We gravely violate the dignity of a human being when we create a climate in which a young boy must ridicule the cultural heritage which has made him what he is. Insofar as we have mocked the national background of any group of people, we have added to the destruction of the American dream.

I believe that man is a strange creature. I believe that his life can only be lived forward, but can only be understood looking backward. He must have one foot in the future and one in the past. Many of our youth today have both feet in the future, and I think the kind of alienation that appears in the writings of our educators and writers expresses what this kind of now orientation has created.

I think part of our difficulty is also language provincialism. We have difficulty in our international diplomacy because we rely solely on one language. Alfred Krozybski, the founder of general semantics, has said:

We do not realize what tremendous power the structure of an habitual language has. It dictates our semantic reactions by virtue of the structure which a language exhibits and impresses on us unconsciously; the structure is automatically projected upon the world around us.

We are enslaved by the straitjacket of our one-language culture. The difficulty in our country is that anybody who speaks a different language is looked upon as foreign. I think that this kind of Yankee chauvinism is dying.

Regarding this bill, I think that we all realize that the decisions that we make at this point in our history will carry responsibility for the future of mankind on the planet. All of us are infected by the fever of technology, the latest in a series of idols mankind has placed in its temples.

What does it profit a man to gain the moon and suffer the loss of his home? We know so well that the problems of our society are not technological but human—yet we spend \$70 billion in the United States for defense. There are many young people in our country today who are wondering, "Is it worth defending?" Many youth do not feel that it is, and that is what worries me.

I think that we have to learn how to live together. Educators throughout the land have deduced from the phenomenon of our society certain ideas about what is essential for the education of youth today. We can ignore them, as we have in the past, but then we must accept the consequences which are reflected in the disruption of our educational system, of our political system, and of our legal system. S. I. Hayakawa, the administrator of San Francisco State College said that one of the goals of education must be:

... to understand, appreciate and learn to live with fellow inhabitants of our planet. Every child must learn about the races and peoples of the world and the rich variety of the world's cultures. He must know something of the history of men and of nations. He must learn that there are many people in the world who differ from him profoundly in habits, ideas, and ways of life. He must perceive these differences not as occasions for uneasiness or hostility, but as challenges to his capacity for understanding.

I think that the kind of Yankee ethnocentrism which believes in the inherent superiority of our own group and looks with contempt on other cultures must finally be buried. And unless we want our cities to break up into hostile armed camps, we must return to the American dream of cultural pluralism, where diverse religious, ethnic, racial or other groups may cleave to their own traditions within their own group, while at the same time they live together within a single economy and polity in harmony and mutual forbearance.

Black Americans in the last 5 years have made us viscerally aware of the kind of self-alienation and the kind of self-hatred which they have been forced to endure. Is it any wonder that our youth burn their draft cards and make shirts out of the flag?

There is a reaction among some nonblack ethnic groups in the United States. They feel that the only way that the Congress of the United States is moved is by demonstrations and riots. They have lost faith in the rational process of a democracy.

We are convinced that if the Congress of the United States takes a positive stand and passes the Ethnic Heritage Studies Center bill to assist the many other ethnic groups in our country, and form a national ethos, we can broaden the base of political decision regarding ethnic studies, and that far more meaningful results can be achieved. If more people are involved in the results of such legislation, then even black ethnic studies can achieve far greater heights.

Laws do not make people respect other people. Only knowledge of the other person can do that. I firmly believe that the ethnic heritage bill has the potential of institutionalizing in our society the promise carved in stone on our Statue of Liberty. We can now truly become what we have always said we were, but are not.

Orchard Lake strongly believes in this kind of ethnic study. For 85 years we have defied Yankee ethnocentrism by studying Polish, by teaching Polish to our youth, by giving them a cultural awareness of their background so that they do not have to change their name in order to live in our society.

I believe that every ethnic group in the United States should be free to study its own heritage, its own literature, its own language, its own art. Indian-Americans must be made to feel proud of Indian culture. Black Americans must become cognizant of their race's contributions to the building of America. Spanish-Americans cannot be made to feel that they are second class citizens.

The only way that this can be done is through Federal support. The many ethnic groups has done much in the past on their own, but in order to get the kind of professional talent that is needed today, in order to produce not just nationalistic propaganda for little ghetto mentalities, but the kind of real study of culture that is necessary, we need Federal support.

My concern today is for the Polish-Americans, who number some 10 millions of our citizenry in the United States. They have helped to build America, all the way from the glassworks of Jamestown in 1608, to the factories, foundries and offices of Chicago, Gary, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo, New York, Baltimore—all the major cities. I believe that no youth of Polish background should ever have to feel ashamed of his national heritage in America.

The rest of my paper speaks about Orchard Lake, how we have been trying to give your youth a sensitivity to cultural pluralism.

We have also established several centers, one of which is the Center for Polish Studies and Culture. Some of the things which we have done I have brought with me today. Perhaps the most important is the Polish Language and Heritage Program, a text designed for secondary schools, consisting of a teacher's guide and a student handbook about the accomplishments of Polish culture and about Polish-American immigration to the United States.

This exists at present in mimeographed form, supplemented by a series of slides and tapes. Our hope is that we can revise and re-edit this to make it the kind of package that will be suitable for distribution to social studies and language of teachers, of whatever national background.

(The prepared paper follows:)

**THE ORCHARD LAKE TESTIMONY IN BEHALF OF THE ETHNIC
HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS HALL**

[By Rev. Leonard F. Chrobot, Dean, Saint Mary's College, Orchard Lake, Mich.]

PART I—ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES—A RATIONALE

- A. The American Dream
- B. A Time of National Crisis
- C. Rootless Youth in Our Society
- D. Language Provincialism
- E. Deification of Technology
- F. Education in Cultural Pluralism
- G. The Reality of Diversity
- H. The Orchard Lake Schools' Ethnic Tradition

PART II—POLISH-AMERICAN ETHNIC STUDIES—THE ORCHARD LAKE PLAN

- A. History of the Orchard Lake Schools
- B. Academic Institutions
- C. Research Centers
- D. What Orchard Lake Has Done:
 1. Development of language curriculum materials:
 - a. Present Polish Curriculum
 - b. Polish Language and Heritage Program (FLICS)
 - c. Language Laboratory
 - d. Polish Room
 - e. Polish and Polish American Books
 - f. Library and Archives
 - g. Art Gallery
 - h. Museum
 - i. Artists-in-Residence
 2. Training programs and workshops:
 - a. Workshops on Cultural Pluralism
 - b. Conference on Racial Prejudice
 - c. Summer Abroad 1970 Program
 3. Research:
 - a. Polish Language Teaching in the United States
 - b. Polish Language Usage in Religious Services
 - c. Research in Polish and Polish American Topics
 - d. Historical Research—Founders' Day Symposia
 - e. Visiting Artists and Scholars
 - f. Professional Contact with Poland
 4. Polish American public relations:
 - a. Polish-Jewish Relations
 - b. Polish-Black Relations
 - c. Polish-Canadian Relations

E. What Orchard Lake plans to do :

1. Development of language curriculum materials :

- a. Distribution of FLICS Program
- b. Translation and Publication of Books
- c. Films and Filmstrips

2. Training programs and workshops :

- a. Summer Workshops
- b. Summer Sessions
- c. Adult Education Classes
- d. Seminars and Lectures

3. Sociological research.

4. Polish American public relations :

- a. Orchard Lake : Focal Point for Organization
- b. General Information Center
- c. Bi-Lingual Radio Program

F. Conclusion

THE ORCHARD LAKE TESTIMONY IN BEHALF OF THE ETHNIC
HERITAGE CENTER BILL

PART I—ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES—A RATIONALE

The American dream

A profound and disturbing change has somehow taken place in America. It is impossible to pinpoint the exact time and place, but somehow, somewhere, imperceptibly, the American dream has become a nightmare. The disappointment is felt all the more keenly because the expectations were so very high. I had to visit a peasant village in Eastern Europe, surrounded by the vestiges of a monstrous war, to begin to understand the meaning of the word "America." It was in the eyes of a gnarled and weathered man, who easily betrayed his experience of humanity's suffering, wherein lay the mystery of the world. It was hope. It was hope that several million years of evolution have taught us how to live together in peace with one another. Nothing is quite as bitter as hope betrayed.

The hope in America was consistently proclaimed by men of vision, men gifted with the ability to verbalize the innermost longing of the human heart. Washington, Jefferson, Adams, were among the first. As early as 1782, Michel de Crevecoeur, in his *Letters from an American Farmer*, called the American the "new Adam." "Here," he said, "individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world." Walt Whitman carried the American dream into the 19th century. And in 1908, Israel Zangwill, a Jewish immigrant, gave it almost religious meaning:

"America is God's Crucible, the great Melting Pot where all races of Europe are merging and reforming . . . Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians—into the Crucible with you all! God is making the American!"

In our century Archibald MacLeish wrote: "America is a symbol of union because it is also a symbol of differences, and it will endure not because its deserts and seacoasts and forests and bayous and dead volcanoes are one mind, but because they are of several minds and are nevertheless together. . . . It is where the sand and the marsh and the rock and the grass and the great trees of the eternal wind compose the frontiers of diversity that there is greatness."

"Mankind's one great hope was described by F. Scott Fitzgerald in *The Great Gatsby* as "the last and greatest of all human dreams." And he added: ". . . for a transitory enchanted moment man must have held his breath in the presence of this continent, compelled into an aesthetic contemplation he neither understood nor desired, face to face for the last time in history with something commensurate to this capacity for wonder."

A time of national crisis

It is precisely because so much was expected from this country that the disappointment in its failure has been so traumatic. The streets that were to flow with milk and honey are now blocked by the rubble of the latest demonstration

or riot. Our embassies, heretofore the concretization of the dream, have been burned, and our representatives, the living witnesses to the dream, have been stoned and mocked. Some of our greatest leaders have been shot down in an orgy of violence.

America is in a time of crisis, the winter of its discontent. And we search for the structure of a spring we hope will come. The greatness of a nation does not depend upon its military or economic strength; our experience of history should have taught us that. Greatness depends upon the concept of man we are able to institutionalize in our society. Good will and sincerity are not enough. The image of the "ugly American" is not so facily dismissed.

Our history tells us of our past mistakes. Our solutions of the "Indian problem" and of the "Black problem" only emphasize the Biblical warning that the sins of the father are paid for by the son. We have inherited the curse of the expediency of our forefathers. Whenever immediate comfort and material security dictate answers to human problems, we can expect to inherit the wind. There is a theory that the only lesson we learn from history is that we learn no lesson from history.

Rootless youth in our society

There is something very wrong with a nation in which a human being must change his name or dye his hair to merit our respect. There is something very wrong when an American girl feels compelled to say "I am of Dutch ancestry, but I am doing something to cure that." We gravely violate the dignity of a human being when we create a climate in which a young boy must ridicule the cultural heritage which has made him what he is. Insofar as we have mocked the national background of any group of people, we have added to the destruction of the American dream. Whenever we insist that a youngster deny his parents, we tamper with the very essence of our humanity.

For a man is a strange creature. His life can only be lived forward, but can only be understood backward. He must have one foot in the future and one in the past. Our own sons and daughters, suburban and sophisticated, blessed with every consumer-item we can possibly deliver, suffers from an alienation which makes Sartre's *Nausea* read like *Alice in Wonderland*. Kenneth Keniston's description of them in *The Uncommitted* makes it understandable why they should seek escape from the pain of being in sex, alcohol, or drugs. Absence of roots can do this to a man. It makes him all shell and no substance, ready to splinter by the slightest discomfort. Such youth seek their redeemers in the passing fad of the moment, ready to follow any Pied Piper promising relief from the gnawing pain of being. And the self-appointed saviors, be they Hefner of *Playboy* fame, or O'Leary with his LSD, serve as the gurus of a new but frightening age.

Language provincialism

Part of this difficulty of Americans is their reliance upon one language. Only recently have we discovered the relationship between language and our very ability to think. Alfred Korzybski, the founder of general semantics, maintains that the structural assumptions implicit in language are of necessity reflected in how we act and what we are. He says:

A language, any language, has at its bottom certain metaphysics which ascribe, consciously or unconsciously, some sort of structure to the world. Now these structural assumptions are inside our skin when we accept a language, any language. *We do not realize what tremendous power the structure of an habitual language has. It is not an exaggeration to say that it enslaves us through the mechanism of semantic reactions and that the structure which a language exhibits, and impresses on us unconsciously, is automatically projected upon the world around us.*

A significant part of our difficulty in world diplomacy is the straitjacket of our one-language culture. It is simply impossible to understand another people of another culture and language unless we are freed from the limitation of our own cultural assumptions. Our difficulty in international relationships should prove this weakness. S. I. Hayakawa says in his *The Use and Misuse of Language* that: Words . . . are more than descriptions of the territory of human experience; they are evaluations. How we think and evaluate is inextricably bound up with how we talk. . . . How we act is determined by how we think. Even when we act without thinking, our actions are likely to follow in turn the lines laid down by our patterns of thought, which in turn are determined by the language we use.

The common insistence that any people who wish to do business with us must learn our language strikes one as an outstanding example of Yankee chauvinism.

Deification of technology

We are well aware, I think, that the decisions we make at this point in human history, carry a responsibility for the future of mankind on this planet. All of us are infected by the fever of technology—the latest in a series of idols mankind has placed in its temples. The view of our planet from the lunar surface changes perspectives for all of us. Does it really profit man to gain the moon and suffer the loss of his home?

We know so well that the problems of earth are not technological but human. And while computers feed us with sophisticated information of staggering complexity, our knowledge of our neighbor next door is still in the stone age. Resources are not unlimited. But when we spend 70 billion dollars in the United States for defense, one wonders what we are defending. Is it worth defending? Many of our youth think not!

Education in cultural pluralism

How can we learn to live together unless we know who we are, and where we come from. We will survive only if we can find the best ideas about man possible, and then act upon them. John Graves expressed this when he wrote in *Goodbye to a River*:

If a man couldn't escape what he came from, we would most of us still be peasants in Old World hovels. But if, having escaped or not, he wants in some way to know himself, define himself, and tries to do it without taking into account the thing he came from, he is writing without any ink in his pen. The provincial who cultivates only his roots is in peril, potato-like, of becoming more root than plant. The man who cuts his roots away and denies that they were ever connected with him withers into half a man. . . . It's not necessary to like being a Texan, or a Midwesterner, or a Jew, or an Andalusian, or a Negro, or a hybrid child of the international rich. It is, I think, necessary to know in that crystal chamber of the mind where one speaks straight to oneself that one is or was that thing, and for any understanding of the human condition, it's certainly necessary to know a little about what the thing consists of."

Educators throughout the land have deduced from the phenomenon of our society certain ideas about what is essential for the education of youth today. We can ignore them, but then we will have to accept the consequences of continued disruption of our educational system, of our legal system, of our political system. Young Americans simply reject the things we have established as important in our society. They have seen the results, and they want no part of it. S. I. Hayakawa, Administrator of embattled San Francisco State College, considers as a basic goal of education for everyone:

"* * * to understand, appreciate and learn to live with fellow inhabitants of our planet. Every child must learn about the races and peoples of the world and the rich variety of the world's cultures. He must know something of the history of men and of nations. He must learn that there are many people in the world who differ from him profoundly in habits, ideas, and ways of life. He must perceive these differences not as occasions for uneasiness or hostility, but as challenges to his capacity for understanding."

American chauvinism is dying. Yankee ethnocentrism, which believes in the inherent superiority of our own group, and looks with contempt on other cultures, must finally be buried. And unless we want our cities to break up into hostile armed camps, we must return to the American dream of cultural pluralism, where diverse religious, ethnic, racial or other groups may cleave to their own traditions within their own group, while at the same time they live together within a single economy and polity in harmony and mutual forbearance.

Black-Americans have made us viscerally aware of the self-alienation and self-hatred minority groups were made to feel. Is it any wonder today that our youths burn their draft cards, make shirts out of our flag, and reject whatever symbolizes America? The very meaning of the word "America" has become negative. Only we have the power to change that image.

There is a reaction by some non-Black ethnic groups against the current interest in Black Studies proclaimed by every college and university across the land. They feel, unfortunately, that the only way changes occur in national priorities and policies is by demonstrations and rioting. Many have lost faith in the democratic, rational process.

We are convinced that only if the Congress of the United States takes a positive stand and passes the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill to assist the

many other ethnic groups which form our national ethos will progress be made even in Black Studies. A broader political base for any legislation can be achieved only if more people are involved in its results.

Laws do not make people respect other people. Only knowledge of the other person can do that. The Ethnic Heritage Bill has the potential of institutionalizing in our society the promise carved in stone on our Statue of Liberty. We can now truly become what we have always said we were.

The Orchard Lake ethnic tradition

The Orchard Lake Schools, for eighty-five difficult years, have defied Yankee Ethnocentrism and have represented the ideal of cultural pluralism at a time when few understood what we were talking about. The Orchard Lake Schools strongly believe that every major ethnic group in our country should be given the opportunity to study its history, language, literature, and art, and to teach others about the richness of its cultural heritage. Indian-Americans must be made to feel proud of Indian culture. Black-Americans must become cognizant of their race's contributions to the building of America. Spanish-Americans cannot be made to feel that they are second-class citizens.

The Orchard Lake Schools, students, faculty, and administration, strongly favor the passage of this Bill. We see federal funds as the only possible source of help for all of the small ethnic groups. They have already done much for themselves with their own money. But spiraling costs, especially for talented and professional personnel in these areas, will not permit them to continue. (The priest-faculty members of the Orchard Lake Schools alone contribute a quarter of a million dollars each year in their services to this cause for Polish-Americans.)

My concern today is especially for the Polish-Americans, who number some ten million citizens of the United States. They have helped build America, from the glass works of Jamestown in 1608 to the factories, foundries, and offices of Chicago, Gary, Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Buffalo, and New York at the present time. No youth of Polish background should ever have to feel ashamed of his national heritage in America.

In the second part of my Testimony, I will outline specifically how Orchard Lake has already implemented, is presently implementing, and is prepared to further implement the plan and program of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill for Americans of Polish background.

PART II—POLISH-AMERICAN ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES—THE ORCHARD LAKE PLAN

History of the Orchard Lake Schools

The Orchard Lake Schools were founded by a young immigrant priest from Poland who came to this country a century ago. Father Joseph Dabrowski, significantly, began his work in America among his fellow Polish-Americans and the Indian tribes of central Wisconsin. It was this gift of appreciation for the culture and heritage of other peoples different from himself that he brought to this country. In Detroit, in 1885, he established the Polish Seminary, because he understood the need for native American leaders who would understand the mentality and problems of the millions of immigrants pouring into the United States from eastern Europe.

His schools grew and prospered, and in 1900, moved to Orchard Lake, twenty-five miles northwest of Detroit, to the campus formerly occupied by the Michigan Military Academy. Today the Schools stand as a tribute to his insight into the needs of his adopted land, still training young men with a sensitivity to cultural pluralism, men determined to preserve the very best of the Polish people's contribution to America. The atmosphere of campus today, while very much American, is permeated by a unique spirit of appreciation for the traditions, customs, language, and culture of Poland, which is studied in the classroom by all of the students. The majority of the faculty are of second, third, and even fourth generation Polish ancestry, who contain within themselves a beautiful harmony of a sincere and warm love of America and a profound respect and admiration for the Polish background which has made them what they are. The Schools, built entirely from the free will contributions of Americans who are convinced of their work, embrace three academic institutions and several related research centers.

Academic institutions

The three academic institutions include:

Saint Mary's Preparatory—A four-year secondary program of pre-college studies in a disciplined, boarding school environment preparing young men for future study and service. Enrollment is between 200 and 250.

Saint Mary's College.—A four-year liberal arts program offering majors in theology, philosophy, Polish, and communication arts, in a small, residential atmosphere of individual attention. Enrollment is between 100 and 125.

Saints Cyril and Methodius Seminary.—A four-year program of graduate studies in theology preparing men for the priesthood, the permanent diaconate, and lay leadership in the Catholic Church. Enrollment is between 50 and 75.

The total campus population numbers over 400. It is small in comparison to the great state universities surrounding it, but in its eighty-five years of service to America, the schools have educated more than 12,000 men, 10,000 as laymen and 2,000 as clerics who have served their country through the ministry of the Catholic Church. A recent study indicates that 72% of the alumni use Polish in their professional careers. The majority of these men, low-income sons of the Polish-American Community, would never have had the advantage of such education had it not been for Orchard Lake. (Students pay less than half of the cost of room, board, and tuition.) The education they receive, stressing a three-fold cultural formation—Christian, American, and Polish, prepares leaders who appreciate the cultural diversity of the United States population, leaders who can create the kinds of community, especially in our inner cities from which they come, where a human being can grow and prosper.

Research centers

The research centers of the Orchard Lake Schools, although distinct from the academic institutions, mutually support each other. They have done, and will continue to do whatever is necessary to serve the Polish-American community. They include:

Center for pastoral studies, which trains permanent deacons for Church work, offers programs of continuing education for priests and laymen in theology, and sponsors a program of field work in pastoral activity for students of the Schools.

Polish American Liturgical Center, which supplies Polish speaking people and their priests with homiletic and liturgical materials, and provides a special apostolate for the sick and aged.

Polish American Historical Association, which sponsors research in Polish American history, and publishes the quarterly *Polish-American Studies*.

Center for Polish Studies and Culture, which develops curriculum materials for use in elementary and secondary schools dealing with the history, geography, society, economy, literature, art, music, drama, language, and general culture of Poland, and disseminates these materials to interested teachers. It is precisely this Center which is already equipped to furnish the kinds of material requested in the Ethnic Heritage Bill. It could well serve as a model for other ethnic groups in the establishment of their own centers.

What Orchard Lake has done

The Orchard Lake Schools have long felt that an academic institution must have a much broader responsibility than merely classroom teaching. Their ability to respond to the needs of the community which they serve has assured them of the continuing financial support so necessary in private higher education today. Some of the accomplishments of the schools in recent years in the areas of ethnic study and language development meet some of the needs of the Polish-American community.

Development of language curriculum materials

1. *Present Polish curriculum*—The Orchard Lake Schools are better prepared than anyone else to develop curriculum materials for the teaching of Polish. Eighty-five years of experience of teaching Polish on a secondary, college, and graduate level have taught us much about the kind and quality of material which is interesting to American youth. Our language teachers are very young, very American, and very much in love with the culture of Poland. The excitement of this love is clearly contagious.

2. *Polish language and heritage program (FLICS)*.—Orchard Lake, in cooperation with the University of Michigan working under a Federal grant, has developed the Polish Language and Heritage Program as part of the Foreign Language Innovative Curriculum Series (FLICS). It consists of a teacher's

manual and student text, with accompanying slides and tapes, of units on the history, culture, art, literature, customs, geography, social life, and architecture of Poland, and a unit on Polish-American immigration. The materials have been tested on a secondary level for several years with our own preparatory students and others, have been revised, and have been distributed to more than four hundred Polish teachers throughout the United States. Although existing only in mimeographed form at present, the Program will be further tested, revised as necessary, and published in permanent format. (A copy of the FLICS Program is available for examination upon request.) It too could serve as a model for other ethnic groups wishing to develop materials of this kind.

3. *Language Laboratory*.—The complete facilities of the Orchard Lake Language Laboratory are also available for the further development of tapes for teachers interested in using the audio-lingual method of language instruction. While other large language groups have many commercially developed tapes, lesser known languages must develop their own at great expense. We are willing to share our experience in this area, as well as furnish copies of tapes we have already developed for classroom use.

4. *Polish room*.—Of particular merit in ethnic heritage studies is the Polish Room, a special demonstration laboratory furnished with a collection of books, art objects, and folk art from Poland, where students may come into contact with some of the things they study about. Seasonal traditions and customs are displayed, and students participate in recreating them for their own classmates.

5. *Polish and Polish-American Books*.—Sorely needed in the classroom by every teacher are books relating to the study of a foreign culture. Through the efforts of Prof. Robert Geryk, Director of the Center for Polish Studies and Culture, the schools have published a bibliography of Polish books, Polish books in English translation, and Polish-American books in the field of history and literature, and the College's Bookstore has served as a supply and distribution center for such materials. Many of the young Polish writers (Polanski in films, Grotowski in drama, Penderecki in music, Mrozek in literature, Kolakowski in philosophy), whose works are already available in English, spark much interest and enthusiasm among our youth.

6. *Library and archives*.—Another key factor in supplying books, filmstrips, films, and records of things Polish is the Alumni Memorial Library and its Archives. The Orchard Lake Library already has one of the largest collections in the United States, numbering 60,000 volumes, of which more than 10,000 are Polish, including many first editions and autographed copies, Polish translations of English works, and an outstanding collection of books on Polish genealogy and heraldry, and many other items of interest. In addition, it annually receives 90 different current Polish periodicals and newspapers published here and abroad, and has a historical file of such items as the *Prasa Podziemna* of World War II, and the now extinct *Dziennik dla Wszystkich* of Buffalo.

The Archives continue to grow each day with additions from estates and older people who wish to preserve some memorabilia of Poland or the Polonia for permanent safe-keeping. Orchard Lake still issues requests for any and all materials of a historical nature having to do with Poland or the Polish-American community. The presence of the Polish-American Historical Association gives added continuity and permanence to this dimension.

7. *Art Gallery*.—The Galeria of the Orchard Lake Schools has also provided a location for the display of Polish, Polish American, and Slavic art, and provides a source of information about it. It has already sponsored such exhibits as Marian Owczarski, sculptor; Helen Klisz Dudzinska, painter; Richard Kubinski, posters; Donna Wessell and Helen Szpakowski, painters, and many others, and plans to continue frequent exhibits in the future. Students are given a vivid experience of the best art a culture can provide.

8. *The Museum*.—In time the schools would like to provide facilities for the permanent display of historical objects in a Museum. Its Galeria and Polish Room already contain a nucleus of material upon which a permanent collection can easily be based.

9. *Artists-in-Residence*.—Perhaps the most exciting aspect of the schools is the Artists-in-Residence facility, which provides subsidized facilities for poets, novelists, painters, sculptors, composers, etc., to create original works of art. The stay on campus of the great Polish pianist Severin Turel several years ago was an experience which students will never forget. The more recent stay of Marian Owczarski also proved memorable. Further facilities can be developed on a

thirty-eight acre island in the center of Orchard Lake, across from the campus, and is presently available—an ideal location for such a facility to provide for the living continuation of works of art.

Training programs and workshops

1. *Workshops on cultural pluralism.*—In April, the Schools will host their second Workshop on Cultural Pluralism, in cooperation with the Michigan Department of Education. Last year the Workshop consisted of fourteen different ethnic groups (Italian, Portuguese, Arabic, Russian, Polish, Scandinavian, Dutch, Greek, French, Spanish, Oriental, Black, American Indian, and Finnish) who met on campus to hear a guest speaker on cultural anthropology, and then broke up into individual groups to examine available instructional materials and discuss target problems for the teaching of language and culture within their respective ethnic group. This year the workshop will address itself to the problem of how to introduce ethnic studies into social studies curricula in public schools.

2. *Conference on racial prejudice.*—The schools hosted a Conference on Racial Prejudice, in cooperation with the Archdiocese of Detroit, in an attempt to understand the problems of the inner-city in relationship to the Catholic parishes of Detroit. The Conference examined prejudice from a psychological and sociological perspective, and presented recommendations on how to deal with inner-city problems.

3. *Summer abroad 1970 program.*—In cooperation with the Catholic University of Lublin, the Orchard Lake Schools will sponsor a special intensive course in Poland in language and culture, with a guided cultural tour and an optional trip to Rome this summer, for academic credit. Such a trip proves to be invaluable for Polish teachers and students.

Research

1. *Polish language teaching in the United States.*—In cooperation with the Southeast Educational Laboratory and their Bi-Lingual Design Project, Austin, Texas, the Schools initiated a research project into the amount and type of Polish language teaching in the United States. This information served the Congress in its recent passage of the Bi-Lingual Education Act, the first recognition by our Government of foreign languages as a natural resource which should be carefully preserved. Although Polish has long been listed by the Department of Defense as one of the "critically needed" languages, little has been done to encourage its teaching.

2. *Polish language usage in religious services.*—The schools have also undertaken a research project in the use of the Polish language among priests of Polish background, in order to come to some objective evaluation of the need of Polish materials for liturgical and religious use. Through the Polish-American Liturgical Center, the Schools have translated, published, and distributed the new Eucharistic Prayers and the new Ordo of the Mass to all Polish priests of the United States. The Center has also undertaken the responsibility of supplying other Polish liturgical materials needed—prayerbooks, misalettes, sermon outlines, prayers of the faithful, etc. Through a special apostolate to the aged and sick, the Center offers Polish materials of devotion for their use.

3. *Original research in Polish and Polish-American topics.*—In the realm of scholarship, the schools have sponsored original research into history, literature, and culture of Poland and the Polish-American community, and have published translations and reprints, in cooperation with the *Eagle Yearbook* of the schools. Many of these are already available in reprint form as indicated by an asterisk.

The Kopernik Quadricentennial (1943)

Polonia Panorama (1946)

The 700th Anniversary of the Canonization of St. Stanislaus (1953)

Centennial of the Massive Immigration of Poles to America (1954)

The Life of John Cieplak, Bishop and Martyr (1955)

*Polish-American Fraternal Organizations (1956)

*The Polish-American Press (1957)

Polish Forebears Who Settled at Jamestown in 1608 (1958)

*A Seventy-Five Year History of the Polish Seminary (1960)

*American Council of Polish Cultural Clubs (1961)

*Polish-American Clergy (1962)

- *Polish-American Parishes (1963)
 - Our Lady of Orchard Lake Shrine
 - Poland's Millennium, 1,000 Years of Christianity (1965)
 - Celebrating 1,000 Years of Polish Christianity, The World Polonia (1966)
- *The Orchard Lake Schools (1967)
 - Our Lady of Czestochowa (1968)
- *Outstanding Men and Women of Poland (1969)
- *The Arts in Poland Since 1945 (1970)

4. *Historical research—the Founder's Day symposia.*—The annual Founder's Day Historical Symposia have, through the years, undertaken various themes related to the Polish-American experience. The results have been published continuously in the *Polish-American Studies*, quarterly of the Polish American Historical Association.

5. *Visiting artists and scholars.*—The schools have long served as a host for most artists and scholars visiting this country from Poland, most of whom have either addressed our student body, or presented musical or literary programs of some kind. The recent appearance of a very young Polish Folk Rock Group (No To Co and the Alibakbi) was enthusiastically received by the youngest and oldest set on campus. Several other groups are planned for the year.

6. *Professional contact with Poland.*—A school which teaches a foreign language and culture cannot long exist without contact with the culture's source. The Orchard Lake Schools have had close contact with the Catholic University of Lublin, the Universities of Warsaw and Cracow, and with the leaders of the Catholic Church. Annual trips to Poland by students under faculty supervision have always produced very positive results. Students have returned with a new love for America and a new-found love for the country of their ancestry. Of particular merit is time spent among Polish peasants in the villages, some of them distant ancestors of our young. Nothing can match this kind of living contact in the laboratory of life.

Polish American public relations

1. *Polish-Jewish relations.*—The Schools have cooperated with the Jewish Anti-Defamation League, especially in the Chicago area, in trying to find solutions to mutual problems of ethnic identity. The work of the American Jewish Committee in the area of ethnicity should be praised and supported. Much can be learned by such mutual support.

2. *Polish-Black relations.*—One of the pivotal problems of the Polish American Community is its relations with Black-Americans. Polish-Americans bear a significantly greater proportion of criticism for racial prejudice because they happen to live closest to the problem. It is quite easy for White liberals who live in the antiseptic suburbs to level their charges then return to their Ivory towers.

Poland's history of friendliness toward minorities is a fact of history. Present racial controversies generate far more heat than light. But when the dust finally settles, we are convinced that Polish-Americans will emerge, in the long suffering tradition of their forebears, as those who weathered the storm.

The Orchard Lake Schools unequivocally support the efforts of the Priests' Conference for Polish Affairs in Detroit to find solutions to the magnitude of problems which we share with our fellow Black-Americans. The experience of Polish-Americans in dealing with the problems posed by a dominant culture decades ago can well serve our fellow Black-Americans with some important lessons in acculturation and assimilation. And we laud the discovery that Black Americans have recently made of the necessity of respect and love for their cultural heritage.

Community work in these areas is slow and tedious, as many of our alumni who work with these problems are quick to testify. But much can be done. The Orchard Lake Schools laud the work of the Detroit "Black-Polish Conference," and the kind of thing it attempts to accomplish.

3. *Polish-Canadian relations.*—The schools also seek to establish closer ties with the Polish-Americans of Canada. While Canada's problems differ from our own, many of the efforts we have exerted can benefit them. We have already made, significant contacts with priests of Canada and their parishes. With the cooperation of Polish organizations in the United States, we will extend and strengthen the bonds we share in common.

What Orchard Lake Plans To Do

The Orchard Lake Schools would like to do much more. There has never been a dearth of ideas. Passage of the Ethnic Heritage bill would enable work in these

areas to increase significantly, and would enable us to offer services not now provided. The Center for Polish Studies and Culture would also be happy to advise any other ethnic group on methods of procedure and areas of priority. Much of its past work could already serve as a guide to other groups interested in the preservation and dissemination of their cultural legacy.

Development of Language and Curriculum Materials:

1. *Distribution of FLICS Program.*—Although the Polish Language and Heritage Program is rather complete, much work is revision and re-editing must be done to make it a more effective program. Personnel and facilities for the adequate distribution to elementary and secondary schools throughout the nation is very inadequate. Further testing of the materials, especially in the so-called "Saturday Schools," where Polish is taught to children under private auspices, is essential.

2. *Translation and Publication of Books.*—Translation and publication facilities for historical, literary, and sociological studies must be provided as soon as possible. A special effort should be made to encourage new research, especially in the field of literary criticism of Polish works. Americans know very little of Poland's great literature beyond, perhaps, Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis*. Doctoral dissertations are especially productive of useful material.

3. *Films and Filmstrips.*—Newest educational technology must embrace audiovisual materials for classroom use. Orchard Lake has all the necessary resources for the production of a professional film and/or filmstrip for social studies teachers about the Polish American experience, and Polish culture in general.

Training Programs and Workshops

Lacking personnel, facilities, and financial support, the Orchard Lake Schools have a special need to provide for persons utilizing or preparing to utilize the curriculum materials eventually to be developed.

1. *Summer Workshops.*—Summer workshops can prove to be invaluable for language and social studies teachers, to introduce them to existing materials, and instruct them on newest teaching methodology. Additional personnel is available, but funds are not.

2. *Summer Sessions.*—With the rebirth of interest in ethnicity, there is much demand for summer courses in Polish language, history, literature, art, and culture. Facilities and personnel again are available, but funds are not.

3. *Adult Education Classes.*—A remarkable interest in things Polish can be found in the third and fourth generation Americans of Polish background who suddenly have realized the treasures of wisdom and beauty contained within their own ethnic heritage. Evening classes for adults could do much to enhance ethnic pride. Such study can contribute to a more harmonious, patriotic, and committed populace."

4. *Seminars and Lectures.*—In addition to sponsoring seminars and conferences on Polish subjects, the Schools plan to provide slides, films, recorded tapes, and traveling exhibits for possible use at schools and meetings of Polish American organizations. Lectures, dramatic presentations, music festivals, and film festivals can also be sponsored.

Social Research

Sociological research among America's ethnic groups in general, and within the Polish American Community in particular, is almost non-existent. Social scientists know more about Australian aborigines than they do about the Polish Community in Buffalo, New York. Although research in this area has begun, largely through the efforts of the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago, no systematic study has yet been attempted. Orchard Lake is anxious to begin a detailed and scholarly sociological study of Polish America. The preliminary outline for such a study was already presented by Dr. Lawrence Cizon, former Director of Research at Loyola University, Chicago. Such a study could provide invaluable information on the problems of our inner cities, especially those with large contiguous populations of Poles and Blacks, like Chicago, Gary, Detroit, Cleveland, Toledo, Buffalo, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.

The Orchard Lake Schools are anxious to contribute to this research. With the help of the Ethnic Heritage Bill, resources now diverted toward the development of curriculum materials could be used in this area.

Polish American Public Relations

1. *Orchard Lake—Focal Point for Polish American Organizations.*—Orchard Lake has long served as the spiritual and educational focal point for the organization of the Polish-American community in the United States. Meetings of fraternals, professional organizations, mass media people, and religious leaders have always been hosted by the schools. Only limitations of staff and personnel have limited this contribution. These organizations have much power to influence the rank and file Americans of Polish background for constructive effort and creative response to the needs of our country. The positive contribution of Polish-Americans to this country cannot be calculated. It is significant to note, however, that there has never been a riot, a demonstration, or a march of any kind, nor has there been a destructive or disruptive movement toward America, despite the fact that they are more organized than any other national group, and stronger in political influence in many sections of the country.

2. *General Information Center for Polish Americans.*—Many ethnic groups in the United States lack any kind of centralized facility for providing general information on their own ethnic group. Orchard Lake could well serve Polish-Americans in this regard, especially in view of its personnel and resources.

3. *Bi-Lingual Radio Program.*—In keeping with this desire to serve Polish-Americans, Orchard Lake now plans for a fifteen-minute bi-lingual radio program with a cultural emphasis, which will broadcast weekly. Its range of information and formation can thus be magnified many times over.

Conclusion

This Orchard Lake Plan, in its academic and non-academic aspects, is already well underway. We have 110 acres of land, 18 buildings, and a present staff of 30 priests and 20 laymen, all dedicated to the cause of the preservation and dissemination of Polish culture in the United States. The growth of the physical plant continues with the construction of a two million dollar residence facility which will house 300 students in semi-private rooms. The building has been purposely designed to function as a multi-purpose facility, especially during the summer months, when workshops and conferences can be held more easily. Future campus development includes a separate building to house the facilities of the Center for Polish Studies and Culture, and academic buildings like a fieldhouse, an auditorium, a faculty residence, and an addition to the Library. If we can serve the needs of America as we have in the past, we are confident that this plan will be realized before our centenary in 1985.

This, then, is the plan of the Orchard Lake Schools for implementing the provisions of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill. Orchard Lake stands ready, willing, and able to devote its entire resources, personnel, and facilities for the realization of these goals. The philosophy of Orchard Lake has its roots in its history and tradition of service to those who have supported it—the Polish-American community in the United States. It stands as a monument to the faith and sacrifice of an immigrant America, a tribute to the deeply religious values carried to this country by our forefathers a century ago.

At a time when our country is undergoing profound social changes, the schools continue to uphold the ideal of cultural pluralism—the selection of the very best from the heritages of all the groups which make up the American mosaic, and the preservation of these elements in youth to enrich our American culture. The current movement on college and university campuses to establish Black Culture programs reinforces our rejection of the "melting pot theory," in which each minority in America would lose its complete identity. In a world moving painstakingly toward more vital cooperation and more meaningful brotherhood, Orchard Lake upholds the goal of true unity without absolute conformity, demanding the right to individual differences in a culturally pluralistic society.

This is the contribution that Orchard Lake has made, and will continue to make, to a country which has welcomed our forefathers to its shores, allowed them to grow and prosper, and permitted them their ethnic ways. We still have hope in the American dream.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I have looked at the Teacher's Guide and the outline and I am impressed with one aspect of that work in that it stresses the objective study of one's culture. I am pleased that this makes no effort at reaching at the emotions. We have seen some of the material that is available which is on a highly emotional basis and I am not too sure

how much that sort of a program really contributes to a person's better understanding of himself.

I am impressed with the work that you have done, but I just must say that even that effort is just a beginning of what can be done. I get the impression from looking at your volume there, as I did the other day, that the one thing that strikes you immediately is the huge potential that lies ahead if you had the resources and the funds to do it. I was very much impressed with the efforts to put some objective meaning into the various cultural and ethnic phenomena rather than to try to build this on the emotional basis.

We have had some study centers that have tried to approach it from the emotional standpoint, particularly at some experimental study centers. I think that they create problems that lead to the shutdown of the program itself, properly so, because they really went outside the scope of the scholarly academic approach to the problem as you do in this book. I am hopeful that the university people would keep these studies at the objective level, not trying to involve the emotional aspects of the problem.

I presume that that must have been the guiding spirit by those that put that book together, because I notice that the whole thing is pegged along that basis.

Dean CHROBOT. I think that this is the result of our experience in teaching young Americans on a secondary and on a college level. They are fully American and they simply would not tolerate this kind of emotional appeal.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I was very pleased to hear you make that observation, Father. I think you have put your finger on something that I don't think anyone else has mentioned in our committee in testimony before. It is entirely possible that someone who is here as a first generation immigrant, whatever nationality, probably would be very emotionally involved in any discussion of his ethnic past. But it is interesting you look downrange and young people who are three and four and five generations removed from the cultural conflicts start looking at the more meaningful things in that culture.

For instance, I remember when I was a little kid it was not uncommon to walk into a home—we lived in a Polish community—and the floors were scrubbed clean in those days, they didn't have linoleum, you didn't have floor tile—they were wooden floors and it took one big job to scrub that floor clean, and they wanted that floor clean for a couple of days at least so they used to put newspapers on that floor. If you got a new piece of furniture, they would put a piece of bed sheet over it. They didn't have slipcovers in those days, and you could not go out and buy a plastic cover for a new couch so you put the bed sheets on the furniture.

Your friends would be horribly embarrassed if you would walk into their house. It was kind of a culture conflict there between the old world and their own concepts as young Americans.

Well, I think that the point you have made here is a point that needed to be made, that we can in the second and third and fourth and eighth and 10th generations will be much more objective in evaluating cultural values than perhaps in that immediate generation that has immigrated here.

Dean CHROBOT. One experience that Orchard Lake has had is the Conference on Cultural Pluralism. Last year the conference consisted of 14 different ethnic groups (Italian, Portuguese, Arabic, Russian, Polish, Scandinavian, Dutch, Greek, French, Spanish, Oriental, Black, American Indian and Finnish) who met on campus to hear a guest speaker on cultural anthropology and then broke up into individual groups and discussed their own ethnic studies. There was absolutely no kind of nationalistic, emotional reaction of the kind that could have existed a few generations ago.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am delighted to have you tell us about this because it merely proves the point that you have been making and that I have been making. I have said all along that if at any point I thought this legislation was going to polarize differences then I would want no part of it, that the whole thrust of this legislation is to try and bring better understanding among people, to bring a better respect among each other.

I am delighted to hear you say on the basis of your experience with these 14 different ethnic groups that was the level and course that this workshop took. I would like to see that now repeated as a steady diet for Americans and maybe we would get away from some of these unfortunate prejudices that dominate us whether we like to admit it or not.

Dean CHROBOT. We talk so much about the emotional reactions of the ethnic groups. There is, however, a strong emotional reaction of the dominant cultural group also. Many feel that study of the Polish language has no place in the public or private school systems. One of the targets for the discussion on cultural pluralism this year will be how to influence supervisors of the social study curricula in the high schools to introduce ethnic study into the high schools of Michigan.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Well, that is very encouraging. I was wondering if I could get your view on it because we really have a twofold purpose and one is kind of a cross-fertilization of ideas, and respect for each other. The other one is of course a greater knowledge about yourself. We, for instance, go into schools in this country where they have a predominantly Latin American population. It really is pathetic and tragic to see how these young children of Latin American background have been reduced to a position of almost intellectual servitude when, just a little while ago the Spanish influence dominated the continent. When you look at the huge cultural contributions made by the Latin American developments you ask yourself: How did it happen?

I think you find the same thing in the Black community.

As I have said here so many times, the average American's image of a Black man goes back four generations to a slave in chains and it took Secretary Rogers to remind us that the history and the culture of Africa go back centuries before our own time. Most people are not aware of that.

Now tell me this: Your school emphasizes the Polish background but is there some effort made at a contact on a broader basis with other similar centers?

Dean CHROBOT. We have had contact with many of the other ethnic centers because of our cultural pluralism workshops. This kind of emphasis is just beginning, though. We have on campus an art gallery where we have had several Slavic art exhibits—for example, the

Yugoslavs and Czechoslovakians. We do have a list of some of the various other ethnic study centers in the United States—the Irish, for example. No ethnic group that I know of, however, has the kind of organization that Orchard Lake has, with the recent exception of the Black community. If you want some information about Spanish-American people, for example, I don't know of a place where you can go to get this kind of information.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Of course I have always been impressed with the seventh and eighth and ninth and 10th generation Irish-American who is no less a loyal and patriotic, dedicated American but he is more Irish than the people of Ireland. Very often we have visitors that come here from Ireland and they are astounded to find the rich dedicated and spirited Irish spirit in this country. They say, "Well, we don't even have it back in our own country."

Well, it speaks well for a people and I think it makes them better students. It gives them a confidence—some people call it cockiness. I have never been able to decide whether my counsel is competent or confident.

I would think that the Irish have done a reasonably good job of retaining the basic knowledge of their rich past through their songs, through their legends, through their various other folklore and I have found that it has made them really good Americans.

Dean CHROBOT. It certainly has added to it.

Mr. PUCINSKI. They have great confidence in themselves. They move ahead, they seek the better values, they remove the cultural conflicts. It seems to me that we need any examples that the Irish are an excellent example of what knowledge of one's self means to the psyche of individuals.

Conversely, we take the little Negro kid who lives in a shell because he knows nothing about himself and really has very little knowledge and can find little knowledge. The same thing with some of your Slavic groups, Latin Americans.

So I was very pleased to get this testimony, Father.

Unless you have something to add—

Dean CHROBOT. If the bill would be funded there would be a tremendous amount of things that we could do. We have never had a lack of ideas on things that we could do, it is a question of finances. Orchard Lake has done this for 85 years, completely supported by private funds because people have been convinced of this kind of work. But if the Congress would give some kind of official approbation to the study of ethnicity, I think this would be a very positive thing.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am glad to hear you make that statement because there might be those who say, well, it is already being done and they look at your text over there or the work that you have, and say, "Well, you really don't need any more." I have said time and again that what we now have is just a drop in the bucket at the potential and we don't have this kind of material simply because nobody has really ever had the money to do it with.

Dean CHROBOT. In order to produce the kind of material that is not emotional, that is not nationalistic, you must have professional people. If sometimes it is done on a nonprofessional level, it could produce materials which could polarize people.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think you are absolutely right.

I think the foreign students the previous witness talked about could be a big addition. I am sure you could use them at Orchard Lake.

Dean CHROBOT. Yes, we have some with us now.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We are very grateful to you for your contribution and I am particularly pleased that you are able to show us in your testimony what you are now doing in Orchard Lake to give us some indication of what can be done, what the potential is. It is my hope when this legislation is adopted you can move in that direction.

Dean CHROBOT. I also have with me some of the reprints we have been doing on the Polish-American community.

For example, we did a study of the Polish-American cultural organizations in reprint form. This is the kind of material which is graphically pleasant, and I think well written. It could be an immense contribution to this kind of development.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I hope that we will be able to include this in the record, without objection.

Father, we are most grateful to you and congratulate you for the great job you people are doing and have done at Orchard Lake under the conditions I know the problem you have with funding, and the fact that you have done this work puts you way ahead of many others in this country in this very important field. I hope you will carry back with you to Orchard Lake our deep appreciation of your contribution.

Dean CHROBOT. Thank you very much.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am glad we have Congressman Matsunaga from the Rules Committee to come forth with Dr. Kleinjans, who is chancellor of the East-West Center of the University of Hawaii.

I would like you to know, Congressman Matsunaga, that we consider it a great privilege to have you before our committee.

I think, Dr. Kleinjans, you ought to know that you are being introduced by one of the highly respected Members of this Congress, and I don't say that because he is here. I think that anyone who knows anything about the Congress of the United States, Democratic or Republican, would have to admit that Spark Matsunaga is one of the highly respected and beloved Members of this Congress. So I am privileged that he would take time out of his schedule to come here and introduce you as a witness before our committee.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I certainly appreciate your kind words, particularly because Dr. Kleinjans happens to be one of my constituents.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to have inserted at this point in the record my own statement in support of H.R. 14910.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Without objection, so ordered.

(Congressman Matsunaga's statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF HAWAII

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee, I thank you for this opportunity of presenting my views with respect to the bill which I have cosponsored, H.R. 14910, which would establish a number of Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers, each devoted to the development of curriculum materials dealing with one ethnic group.

As a representative from the State of Hawaii, I am especially interested in this bill because in my State we are acutely aware of the diversities of cultures

and ethnic backgrounds. However, we are confronted by a two-fold problem: (1) Hawaii's multitude of ethnic groups, each with distinct characteristics are too often classified as one and the same; and (2) the insularity of the 50th State poses extraordinary difficulties for its people to learn about the many other cultures in the mainland United States and to share their rich cultural heritage with the rest of the country.

The United States, as we all are aware, represents a conglomeration of many distinct and diverse cultures—from the American Indians, who were already here, to the many different Europeans who migrated here. Each group attempted to retain some of its heritage, but as time passed and numbers increased, each succeeding generation mixed with other ethnic groups to form the proverbial "melting pot." Nevertheless, today we still have many readily identifiable ethnic groups living in the United States, each having its own rich cultural traditions.

Indisputably, the greatest single means of transmitting "culture" from one generation to another is our schools. For a variety of reasons, our schools have tended to emphasize the "majority." Most elementary and secondary classes tend to stress the accomplishments of Americans of European origin and Anglo-Saxon origin, and often ignore the many other groups. This practice has had, and will continue to have, tragic consequences.

One unfavorable result is that members of minority ethnic groups tend to repress their cultural identity and to reject the rich heritage that is uniquely theirs. Another is that members of the "mainstream" tend to believe that anything different is inherently inferior. In truth, there is much to be learned from those who are different from ourselves. We have learned this lesson in Hawaii because our many different ethnic groups, of necessity, have had to learn from each other, and all have played supporting roles in developing our great State.

In America today, we are also faced with a problem involving the alienation of our youth. Many of our young people seem to be without roots and feel that they somehow have become separated from our heterogeneous society. The very ties which could hold us together are frequently ignored in our schools. I personally do not feel that this situation was brought about intentionally. It is more the product of our history. I am confident that many of our schools would effectively utilize materials relating to our many ethnic groups once they are made readily available. With the rapid advance of educational technology, it is not surprising to find that our schools have difficulty keeping up with advancements. Needless to say, the education of our school children is vastly important to the future of our country, and a knowledge of our cultural heritage should be a part of that education. It is clear, therefore, that our schools are presently unable to institute any meaningful program of ethnic heritage studies without Federal assistance.

The lack of an ethnic heritage study program constitutes a serious gap in our educational process. In order to fill this gap we need the interest and concern of all members of our society. The first step, however, is to make a vehicle available which can provide the materials which are needed by the schools, and to generate a real interest in promoting the use of the materials by all our schools. The bill which we are discussing today has the potential to do just that.

The "Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act of 1969" would establish a number of Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers, each devoted to the development of curriculum materials dealing with one ethnic group or one regional group of ethnic cultures for use in elementary and secondary schools. These materials which each center would develop would pertain to a specific group's history, geography, society, literature, art, music, language, drama, economics, general culture and to the group's contributions to the American heritage.

Each Center would also be responsible for the training of teachers to use the newly developed materials and make them widely available to elementary and secondary schools throughout every state. These curriculum packages could be utilized by teachers either as study units within existing courses or as a core for innovative programs. Each center would be operated by public or private nonprofit educational agencies and organizations. Each center could draw upon the existing expertise in colleges, universities and other organizations in the State and region, in terms of both educational materials and the special field of the ethnic group itself.

The most far-reaching consequence of this bill would be that all of our young people would be able to develop an awareness and appreciation for the importance of all ethnic groups which comprise our society. Each child would be given the opportunity to study in depth his own particular culture or ethnic group or the many others which we find in America today. The young people in

each of our States would be anxious to learn about the many groups in other States with which they have little or no contact, and to share the rich heritage which they possess with the rest of the country. The establishment of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers will make this vital cultural exchange a reality.

Thank you very much.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. It is indeed a pleasure and an honor, I would say, to introduce Dr. Everett Kleinjans, chancellor of the East-West Center located on the campus of the University of Hawaii. If there was ever an expert in the area of cultural backgrounds as it pertains to the Asian peoples, we do have that expert in Dr. Kleinjans. He is a multilingualist and I am a little fearful that he even speaks the Japanese language better than I do. I am sure that this committee will benefit greatly from what he has to offer.

I am pleased to present Dr. Kleinjans.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You are very kind. I am looking forward to Dr. Kleinjans' testimony.

I do know you have a number of bills printed before the Rules Committee. I know you are tied up in other activities and I am sure the good doctor would be happy to excuse you. I promise you I will send you his testimony.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you, Mr. Matsunaga.

STATEMENT OF DR. EVERETT KLEINJANS, CHANCELLOR, EAST-WEST CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

Dr. KLEINJANS. I want you to know Mr. Matsunaga is also highly respected in Hawaii.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The kind of victories he wins by, I kind of suspect that he must be very highly respected. I wish I had his majority.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Thank you.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you.

Yes, Doctor. Now we are very pleased to have you here, particularly pleased, because I have a feeling that what we are talking about here would be particularly applicable in a State like Hawaii, and the educational institutions over there. So we would like very much to have your testimony.

Now your formal statement will go in the record at this point and then you can proceed any way you want to.

Dr. KLEINJANS. Thank you.

(Dr. Kleinjans' statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF DR. EVERETT KLEINJANS, CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

Mr. Chairman: It is indeed a privilege and an honor to appear before you and to discuss with you the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill. I understand that the purpose of this bill is to develop within all young Americans an awareness of their own ethnic heritage, and to promote within all Americans an awareness of and appreciation for the contributions of various ethnic groups to America's cultural heritage. To attain this goal, the bill proposes to establish centers where curricular materials will be developed, from which these materials will be disseminated, and through which training will be given for persons using the materials.

I believe the attempt to foster this kind of understanding is both noble and necessary. It takes a very mature person to be an American. The challenge inherent in the pluralistic kind of society we have in the United States is to hold the tension between mono-cultural norms and multi-cultural relativity. The

search must lead to a unity which holds and protects the diversity. Men form a society to the extent that they are willing to order their lives by the same morality, customs, and laws. However, a country made up of people having their origins in many different nations and cultures must learn to respect the different morality, customs, and laws of the countries and cultures from which each comes. Such a situation calls for a kind of person who holds firmly what he believes to be right and true as he sees it, yet acknowledges and respects other people who believe differently and have grounds for thinking their beliefs to be right and true as they see it. All of us naturally strive to maintain our own standards, which we hold to be universally true and valid. Standing in another person's cultural shoes is almost impossible for most of us. I hope that the reasons for this difficulty will become clear as I discuss the nature of human culture and the way in which people learn culture. Finally, to cast some light on the subject, I would like to add some remarks about what we are doing at the East-West Center and why.

As an anthropologically trained linguist, I look at culture as being structural. Structure consists of elements and their relationships. Thus, if one looks at physical elements and their relationships he sees physical structure; if the elements and relationships are linguistic, then he sees linguistic structure; if social, then he sees social structure.

Structure exhibits certain characteristics which are fundamental to the understanding of our problem. One characteristic of structure is pattern, or recurring sameness. We notice repetition. We say, "There it is. There it is again. And again." In the study of human groups we see that it is this characteristic which explains the formation of social and cultural habits, and it is in turn this set of characteristics which distinguishes one culture from another.

A second characteristic of structure is system, an interrelated whole. Each element is related to all other elements in such a way that it is impossible to change one of the elements without effecting some change in all other elements. System also indicates the characteristic of closeness. One cannot describe, define, or otherwise delimit elements of one system in terms of another system. The parts of the system only make sense in terms of that system as a whole.

This leads in to a third characteristic of the concept of structure, namely, relativity. What makes sense within one structure makes no sense in another; what is important or significant in one may be unimportant in another. Although all men laugh and cry, *when* they laugh and cry and *what* they laugh and cry about is dependent upon the culture in which they are raised.

A fourth characteristic of structure is that it deals in levels. Items which are different on one level may be the same at a different level. For example, two half dollars may be physically different—one a Kennedy half dollar and the other a Franklin half dollar—but they are functionally the same in the structure of our monetary system. Language and culture behave the same way. The problem arises when the same act or phenomenon is at a significant level in our culture but at an arbitrary level in another.

The broad implication of this concept for the developing of curricular materials is that people should be taught to perceive culture as structure along with learning the various manifestations of culture. All too often the manifestation of cultures other than our own are looked upon as being quaint and thus become more objects of our curiosity. What is needed in a curriculum which shows the actions and artifacts of the people of that other culture in the context of the elements and relations of that culture, in other words its structure. Only then will these actions and artifacts make sense. Through the curriculum it will also be relevant, if not necessary, to raise to the level of awareness the structural nature of the American culture. Students who see the interrelatedness of our political system, our laws, our family and even personality will be better able to see the relationships between elements of other cultures and other ethnic groups within our own culture.

How is culture learned? We know, for example, that a child will learn with relative ease the language of the society into which he is born or adopted. However, once he reaches a certain age, possibly some time around puberty, his nature language habits become rigidified. He does not remember how he learned it nor is he aware of its structural character. It is very difficult for him then to free himself from the patterns of his own language and he finds learning a second language difficult. The muscles of our speech organs become adjusted to our customary way of speaking, and any sound or sequence of sounds which

varies from the norm seems not only awkward, but wrong. The structure of the language gradually sets limits on the way these muscles will adjust with ease. Thus, although a native speaker of the English language is free to say *what* he wants to, he is limited in the *ways* there are to say it. In other words, the sounds, the words, and the phrases must follow a certain pattern, a certain order, in order to make sense. Studies of transfer of learning have shown that (and sometimes *how*) previous learning affects subsequent learning. People tend to carry over into their new learning the habits of previous learning. In language, for example, an immigrant will bring to English the forms, distribution of these forms, and the meanings of his native language. This phenomenon is too familiar to require illustration. The important point is that the structure of one's native language has a binding—and blinding—power over him.

Our assumption in ethnic and cultural studies follows the same line of thinking and reasoning. Human beings, except for individual differences, are born the same; culture makes them different. Thus, any child born or adopted into any culture has the ability to learn the patterned and ordered designs of living which make up that culture. The human body is genetically the same, responding to the same stimuli, reacting, for example, to the same need for food. Culture, however, is a learned set of human habits, ways of life, or styles of living. People born and raised in one culture find it very difficult, and some find it impossible, to learn another culture; that is to acquire the human habits and styles of living of another culture.

Not only do people find it difficult to learn another culture, but they tend to read into the forms of another culture the meanings of their own. As children grow, for example, they come to learn that certain realities are beneficent and others are threatening. Outside of purely physical dangers like falling, eating poison, and cutting oneself, the reaction toward an event as being beneficent or threatening is largely learned. What is looked upon as beneficent in one culture may be looked upon as threatening in another. The structure of the person's own culture, like his language, has a binding force upon him. Thus culture, especially when seen as structural behavior, acts as an obstacle to understanding people of a different culture. Not only is this true across national boundaries but it also pertains to the boundaries of sub-cultures within one's nation or society. People will tend to transfer the meanings of his sub-cultural heritage to the arts and artifacts of other ethnic heritages.

The question which faces us, then, is whether we can plan a strategy for cross-cultural learning which will equip learners to bridge the cultural and sub-cultural misunderstandings gap. Can culture be taught like a language? Can people learn to "speak" another culture? What attributes must a person have, or be taught, so that he will know how to deal with different cultures? How much emotional empathy for other cultures or sub-cultures can be taught in the classroom? We know the potential for this learning is there since we are individuals transcending the sub-cultural boundaries of family, neighborhood and states.

Within the context in which the East-West Center operates, we are attempting to build programs which will begin to answer these questions. We feel that a program such as this is urgently needed at a time when we find forces in the world which can lead to an explosive situation. On the one hand technological developments in communication and transportation have put a larger number of culturally diverse people into contact than ever before in history. The need to keep up with, or catch up with, scientific and technological advancement will hopefully encourage this trend. On the other hand, the newly acquired independence of many countries formerly under colonial rule has produced a trend to enhance national pride through emphasis on cultural uniqueness. In other words, there are increasing opportunities for greater numbers of people from different cultures to interact with one another, but there is not an accompanying trend toward reducing possibilities of intercultural misunderstanding. Yet, it is inevitable that increasing dependence among nations and mounting population will strain human relations. Tourism is one for example. More and more people will travel abroad, where "the natives" become objects of their curiosity and they become objects of the natives' financial exploitation. Greater contact between men does not automatically engender understanding!

The East-West Center has grown from its beginnings ten years ago as a unique experiment in cultural and technical interchange into a viable institution linking together the peoples of Asia, the Pacific Islands, and the United

States. I believe that across the years we have been able to combine idealism with a great deal of practicality (pragmatism). We have provided scholarships and grants to students and scholars from East and West on a two-to-one ratio. We have brought from 33 countries 3,163 students, mainly at the master's level, to study at the University of Hawaii for degrees in any of the many academic departments. We have also brought 10,667 people from 67 countries for non-degree training in subjects ranging from tourist industry management to poultry raising, from banana culture to library science. Finally, we have brought 315 advanced scholars from East and West in pairs, teams, or simply to do research. I do not have the time now to take up the impact of this activity.

Since its inception the Center has been under review many times by highly qualified outside bodies, as well as by the Board of Regents of the University of Hawaii and the National Review Board, established by the Secretary of State to report to him on the programs and budgets of the Center. The general thrust of these reviews has been that, although the Center has accomplished much, it had not yet reached its full potential. There was a constant call for concentration up on a few well-chosen topics. We have now developed problem-oriented programs within which people from different countries and cultures will work together toward solutions.

The problems upon which the East-West Center should focus attention were given careful consideration. The Joint University of Hawaii/East-West Center Task Force recommended several problem areas for investigation. Asians have been consulted to get their views on problems and programs. Three problems emphasized by these people were adopted for further study—population, food, and communications. A fourth area, culture learning, was regarded as particularly suited for investigation because of the very nature of the Center, whose students, senior specialists, and technical training participants combine to form an experimental community of diverse cultural people.

The problem-oriented programs should be common and consequential to both East and West. In other words, the Center should aim for mutuality—drawing Asian scholars and technologists into the early identification and planning stages—and not develop one-way programs of technical assistance. The programs should be amenable to cross-culture, inter-disciplinary, and multi-level (both theoreticians and practitioners) treatment. Work on each problem should be of contemporary significance but future-oriented, and it should be as distinctive as possible; that is, it should not duplicate work being done elsewhere unless there are compelling reasons.

There are many advantages in problem-orientation as a learning context. The educational significance will be readily apparent. Since the problems are real, affecting actual people, participants will learn that pat answers are no answers. Theory and reality have to be reconciled. The problem should provide a mood of seriousness and add the dimension of relevance to the educational endeavor. These programs will also enhance the possibility of mutual understanding. Participants will be working in small groups with well-defined goals. Members of the group will be living and working together over a long period of time. They will be attempting to arrive at important decisions together. Students will not only receive training not only in a discipline, but also in the language and culture of the area where he will do his field project. Thus, participants will not only gain a better knowledge of each other's cultures, but they will also, through having worked and played together, have built those thin bonds of friendship and trust which are necessary in holding men and societies together. People sharing a deep common experience become part of each other's history. The basic thrust of these programs is to provide a place where people from different cultures can learn to cooperate *in spite of* diverse cultural backgrounds. Hopefully, the movement is toward understanding and better relations.

One final word about the Culture Learning Program, since it has special pertinence for Centers of the sort you propose to establish under the Ethnic Heritage Studies Center Bill. The goal of this culture learning program is to find means of educating people so that culture will be less an obstacle to cross-culture understanding. Of course, people are all born into a culture or sub-culture, not into a social vacuum. They cannot grow up aculturally. The problem, as we see it, is not to educate people to grow up culture-free, but rather to let them become aware of the bind that culture has on them, and then try to help them avoid absolutizing their habits, ways of living, and attitudes. Rather than be committed to relativity, a person thus becomes deeply committed to his own values in such a way as to permit another person to be committed to his. In

this way we may help them to cross cultural boundaries more easily. They may even come to see their culture as a variation on a universal human theme, rather than as the final standard of right and wrong. As I said at the beginning of this hearing, this takes a mature kind of person, both to teach and to learn. But I believe that it is the kind of maturity our world needs. It is this kind of maturity which can create the unity which holds and protects diversity, resulting in greater depth and richness in life.

Finally, I would like to address a few remarks to your proposed bill. As I indicated at the beginning, I endorse it. A greater knowledge of the history, geography, language, literature, and art of the ethnic groups that make up our American heritage is an excellent beginning. But we must not think that knowledge about such things will in itself give understanding or encourage people to like each other. I know some experts on Asia who have little empathy for Asians. In fact, they delight in making pejorative jokes about them. Second, there is a danger that ethnic studies will fall into the framework of comparative and contrastive studies which emphasize differences rather than likenesses and can encourage cultural chauvinism. Differences are great, they should be not only accepted but encouraged. However, in my rather lengthy experience abroad I have become convinced that individual differences are much greater than cultural differences. For example, I believe that I am a rather flexible person. I can therefore work more easily with a flexible Japanese than with a rigid American. Third, I hope that these Centers will focus their attention upon all ethnic groups, not only on those which have come to our shores recently and are therefore easily identifiable. Fourth, I cannot overemphasize the need for high quality, without which the results may be opposite those desired. People who despise the curriculum materials may easily transfer this disdain to the people belonging to the ethnic group being studied.

I would like to commend this committee for its farsightedness, and I want to assure you that we at the East-West Center will do all we can to assist in providing the opportunity for young people to gain a greater insight into the multi-ethnic nature of our society.

Dr. KLEINJANS. The formal testimony that I have given is done from the point of view of someone who has spent about 20 years of his life in Asia and is now working toward trying to create or let me say foster understanding between people in the United States and the peoples of Asia, and the Pacific Islands.

Having lived abroad for almost 20 years of course I have not given a great deal of my attention to all of the ethnic problems that we have here in the United States.

I might just say, though, that one of the interesting parts of the previous testimony was to have someone mention all the different countries of Europe as being different ethnically but include all of Asia in one adjective; namely, oriental.

The people from Asia, of course, consider themselves quite different and they look at Europeans as being almost all alike. This is all part of the problem that we are dealing with.

In the testimony that I made I would just like to mention about three points or possibly four. One is that as an anthropologically trained linguist I see culture as structure, and this structure, we know, places blinders on people in the same way that a person learning or knowing a language has blinders placed on him.

A child being born into or adopted at an early age into any culture will learn that culture and its language. Some time around puberty, it seems, that language solidifies, rigidifies, after which he finds it very difficult to learn a second language. The structure of the first language becomes a barrier to his learning a second language.

We feel that, in the same way, a person growing up in one culture will find that this culture becomes a barrier to him as he tries to learn

another culture. I think this happened to me as I went into such culturally different countries as China, Japan, et cetera. The point I am trying to make is that in a program that is trying to develop curriculums for people from different ethnic backgrounds, one of the important points to stress is that culture is structure, that the artifacts of this culture or the manifestations of this culture do make sense within the patterns, the systems, of the culture being studied.

I could give many illustrations of this but I won't take the time at this moment to give any.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You have a center at the university, do you not?

Dr. KLEINJANS. That is correct.

Mr. PUCINSKI. A multilanguage center, all the Asian languages. Does that create any problems for you in trying to put all these languages together?

The reason I ask that question is to see if we have the problems we tried to prove in more than a manageable number of ethnic studies.

Dr. KLEINJANS. Yes. At the University of Hawaii they have the Pacific and Asian language programs in which they teach—I have forgotten how many—some 35 to 40 different languages. It does not create any problems as such since students go to one language at a time. At the center itself we bring people together to study at the University of Hawaii. We are now moving into problem-oriented programs because we feel that people with a common focus and centering their attention around a common problem will learn to understand each other in spite of differences. You don't have to understand each if you are all the same in one sense, but we feel that the understanding does and can take place in spite of differences.

I might mention in this connection that in my own experience, for example, of working in Japan, I have come to feel that individual differences are much greater than cultural differences. An illustration might be something like this. I feel myself to be a somewhat flexible person. I can work more easily with a flexible Japanese than with a rigid American, in spite of the fact we speak the same language and have the same culture and all the rest of these things. There are many more factors involved in understanding than mere cultural background, although I would like to say at this point that I very much favor this bill that you have sponsored.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Dr. Fein from MIT testified earlier today in an excellent statement in which he talked about the efforts over the years that have been made to deny people any knowledge of their background. This has created great problems and I am inclined to agree with him. I wonder if you would care to comment on this since Hawaii even before it became a State had those kinds of crossroads of many people, many religions, and cultures, and languages.

How did they feel at that point there?

Dr. KLEINJANS. I think they emphasized their backgrounds. One of the very interesting things in Hawaii to me—I have only lived there 2½ years—is that they have a Japanese chamber of commerce, a Korean chamber of commerce, a Chinese chamber of commerce, et cetera.

There is a great deal of stress laid upon a person's ethnic background and even greater stress placed upon the mixture. A person may be a 16th Hawaiian and an 8th Dutch and probably half Japanese, or

something along this line, and it will add up into one person, and people recognize it and respect it.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The main thrust of this legislation is to try and eliminate the differences, by letting people know about each other and recognizing their differences. That is what a number of witnesses here have stressed, that we now have latent prejudices in this country and we have open prejudices. Most of those prejudices can really be traced to a tragic ignorance of the other person's values and background and cultural capability. I think that some of the crude ethnic jokes that we have heard over the years have been a pretty good manifestation of a lack of basic knowledge of people, and almost every nationality group has gone through this—the Irish have, the Poles have, and in the religious groups the Jewish people have, the Catholics took their share of bumps, and the Negro of course has taken his share of bumps.

I was wondering if in your judgment especially in the polyglot community like you have in Hawaii if knowledge of each other helped bring these people together.

Dr. KLEINJANS. I think so.

Mr. PUCINSKI. As I listen to Spark Matsunaga and Patsy Mink they tell me that the odd thing about Hawaii is that you have this tremendous proliferation of different ethnic groups and now these religions and races and colors and everything.

Dr. KLEINJANS. Right.

Mr. PUCINSKI. And yet they say that they don't have the kind of uptightness that you have on the mainland.

Dr. KLEINJANS. I think that is true. I think that is very true.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Is it because they have recognized their differences and kind of educated each other on their backgrounds, or how do you account for that?

Dr. KLEINJANS. Well, of course one of the factors may be—we have not studied this out—that it has been brought to the surface and therefore it is recognized.

Another factor is that the non-White people in Hawaii add up to about two-thirds of the population with the whites adding up to about one-third. In other words, I am part of the minority group there, which is quite a different situation from what it is here on the mainland. Which of these factors is stronger I don't know, but my personal feeling is that it is this bringing into being an awareness of ethnic difference.

As I was listening to the previous testimony two things shot into my mind very quickly. Father Chrobot mentioned the Dutch girl who was trying to change her name. My background is Dutch and so this made me smile. I grew up in the little town of Zeeland, Mich., which, like Ivory soap is 99-44/100 percent pure Dutch. We were taught our Dutch heritage. When I went to school I was taught Dutch history. A lot of the kids around there, of course, spoke Dutch. I find in my own acquaintances that this knowledge of this background has given a great deal of security to these people. I guess it is because you have an identify, you know who you are. You knew who you were and therefore you know who you are.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am glad to hear you mention this because we have had raised this question before here. In introducing this legislation

I point out that perhaps one reason why we have so much turmoil among young people in this country is because they are kind of seeking for an identity. As I talk to these people as they come through Washington I like to sit down in my office with them and try to see what is it they are searching for. One can not escape the conclusion that they are seeking some kind of identity that they have lost.

Perhaps one reason why they are seeking that identity is that we have tried to cast them into a single mold in the melting pot concept.

As I said earlier this morning, I rebel against a melting pot concept. I don't want to be melted down into a monolith.

Dr. KLEINJANS. I don't blame you. I think differences ought to be respected, preserved, and protected.

Mr. PUCINSKI. A good stew is a good example; there are a lot of different kinds of meat but a common gravy.

Dr. KLEINJANS. Yes.

The great challenge I think is to hold the tension between the cultural norm and cultural relativity. We have to have certain norms, laws, and this sort of thing in our society. At the same time the multicultural diversity will foster relativity, because values are different in the different cultures.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Doctor, is there anything in the bill that you might have in the way of suggestions as to how we can change it, any language that disturbs you or any problem that you find under the bill? We undoubtedly will have to have some discussions on what these centers ought to really look like, but are there any suggestions you might have on what the bill needs in particular?

Dr. KLEINJANS. No; my own reaction to it was favorable. However, we must be careful. You mentioned a moment ago a previous man who testified about getting at the emotions and that we should keep these studies on an unemotional level. In one sense, Mr. Chairman, I would agree with you that the studies ought to be objective. But on the other hand, from my own experience I have come to feel that we don't get people necessarily to either understand each other or like each other through objective studies of their background.

I know Asian experts, for example, who can make many pejorative jokes about Asians. Some other kind of experience is needed to cross these multicultural barriers.

This emotional education can be built into the curricula somehow by having people experience things together. It might mean bringing people together for a Polish dance or something like this. Something more is needed in the curriculum than just books; some kind of working together, playing together or crying together; or some kind of activity whereby people gain common human experiences and thus develop a common history, if you want to put it that way. This is one idea that comes to my mind.

Mr. PUCINSKI. One final question: At your own center as you develop these various programs—and you are working as I understand with the State Department, the Defense Department on several language programs that you have—do you have any problem in trying to keep the political factor out of this?

We have said here on previous occasions that we would not want an ethnic study center to become a political institute, we want it to be

an academic workshop developing academic material, not political material. Do you have any problems in that direction?

Dr. KLEINJANS. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How do you deal with them?

Dr. KLEINJANS. We attempt to keep our center apolitical as much as possible and not enter into the internal affairs of another country. One of our graduates, for example, went back to his country and was put in jail. The pressure was on me to do certain things. This is the kind of political pressure that does come on.

Of course, as soon as anyone talks about Asia he will soon talk about mainland China, which brings in political overtones. Some of the people who come to our center are from countries which are divided—North and South Korea, North and South Vietnam—and immediately in discussions this is bound to come out in their attitudes.

What we have done at this center is say that they not only have freedom of speech but they have freedom of silence. In other words, they don't have to talk about certain things if they don't want to. There is no question that the political overtones will come in, and I think this would be true also in your ethnic study centers if you are going to study modern cultures, modern societies. If you stay with the past—with past history, with past art, past music, et cetera—then you can generally stay out of political involvement but then you also don't get to feel the plus of the modern country as such.

If you are going to deal with the modern society, you are bound to get into this whether you deal with Poland, or China, or Vietnam, or whatever.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You, of course, as one of the spokesmen for one of the Negro organizations spoke yesterday, and you stated that you would not want to alter or obscure or distort history.

Dr. KLEINJANS. Absolutely not.

Mr. PUCINSKI. There are some unpleasant aspects in everyone's history.

Dr. KLEINJANS. Exactly.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You would not as another witness said just serve pabulum, you wouldn't want to be honest and realize in presenting the full facts?

Dr. KLEINJANS. Right.

Mr. PUCINSKI. As Father Chrobot said a little while ago, you have reason to believe that as each generation gets further away from the emotional problems involved, the political problems, they weigh the ethnic background a good deal more objectively rather than emotionally, and I am inclined to agree with him. I was wondering what your reaction to this would be.

Mr. KLEINJANS. I just might mention another thing that came to mind about Japanese, the Nise. These people have a much more difficult time in Japan than I do. They look Japanese and, of course, biologically are. However, because they are Americans—they could be third generation or fourth generation—they act, they talk, and think just like I do. But it is not expected of them. Because I am Caucasian I am expected to be different. I am expected to make mistakes. There is an expectation factor here that, I think, creates a great deal of the misunderstanding.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Doctor, your testimony was extremely helpful and I am very pleased that we have been able to get such a broad range

of views on this legislation because, obviously, this is something that should not happen in a long time to come.

Dr. KLEINJANS. Right. No question.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think this country could have best solved this problem a hundred years ago. I think we would be much stronger today both as a nation, both ethnically and racially and religiously. So we have some questions that are not being answered and I don't propose that this legislation has all the answers. I think that after we have lived with it for a while we are going to find out all sorts of problems that will have to be resolved as we move along. That is the whole history of legislation, pass a bill and then you try to perfect it as you go along. It is like an insurance policy.

Dr. KLEINJANS. It is an excellent beginning, I think.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You keep making it better each year.

Dr. KLEINJANS. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you so much. You are very kind to be with us and I appreciate the time you have taken to be with us. Thank you so much for your testimony.

Dr. KLEINJANS. Thank you.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Our last witness for this afternoon will be Mr. George Fischer, who is president of the National Education Association, and he is accompanied by Mr. Stanley McFarland and Mrs. Mary Gereau, who are here also from the NEA.

I have your statement in front of me so I won't burden you with reading it.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE D. FISCHER, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION; ACCOMPANIED BY STANLEY McFARLAND AND MRS. MARY CONDON GEREAU

Mr. FISCHER. It is short.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I read it, it is a good statement. I understand that you have a 4 o'clock appointment also.

Mr. FISCHER. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am grateful to you for being with us and apologize to you for the long delay. Your statement is encouraging in that it recognizes the need for this kind of an educational activity. We would be very happy to strengthen section 904(a)(3).

As you point out in your statement, you are for it because it does refer to the expertise of teachers.

Mr. Fischer, you suggest that perhaps this might be done through a sense of resolution rather than a program itself. I wonder if we would not really be just going through some kind of an exercise if we did it that way. The testimony before the committee so far indicates a much stronger need for this legislation than I myself had anticipated. I might have anticipated some very strong accolades for this legislation from some of the ethnic groups in this country, who as Father Chrobot and some of the others have said, might have an emotional involvement. I have been very pleased as these hearings unfolded to hear the educators come before us who have no emotional involvement in this matter, but merely look at it as an educational instrument.

I was impressed with their testimony. I would really like the NEA to look at their testimony before we make any final judgments.

I appreciate your problem. You have a tough fight right now on the HEW appropriation. I know that there is constant criticism of the proliferation of programs, and as you say, the ESEA is rapidly becoming a Christmas tree bill, a little bit of something for everybody.

I don't know, perhaps we might handle this some way other than an amendment to ESEA. We might just handle this as a straight bill, as a bill standing by itself.

Mr. FISCHER. Thank you, Congressman.

As you gathered from reading the testimony, we have absolutely no objections to the intent of this bill. In fact, we think it is excellent.

Mr. PUCINSKI. For that I am grateful.

Mr. FISCHER. I sat here and listened to the testimony of two witnesses who were ahead of me.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is why I put you on last. I figure this was my only shot at you.

Mr. FISCHER. I concur completely with the philosophy stated by Father Chrobot, and the last gentleman from Hawaii, Dr. Kleijans, had some concepts that interested me because they were a new approach. We don't hear this approach too much on the Mainland because we don't think of the Asians as much as we do some of the other minority groups. These Asian problems and the cross-Asian problem that he spoke of in Hawaii are pretty new to us on the Mainland.

We think perhaps the bill could be strengthened by adding \$20 or \$30 million to it. Or perhaps it should be treated as a separate bill, or put in with the Cooperative Research Act, Education Professions Development Act, or Arts and Humanities Act. Making it cooperative and putting some more money into it might be a good idea.

I was interested in what you said about being melted down. The NEA has long been interested in this problem, as you know.

In fact, we have a document called the report of the task force on human rights that resulted from a year's study. I was fortunate enough to serve on this task force and I think parts of this document should be introduced into your testimony.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Without objection it will be included.

(The document referred to follows:)

REPORT OF THE TASK FORCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS—NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Certain American Truths.—America was colonized by people who, in fleeing from repressive governments in lands where their rights were limited or nonexistent, had great reverence for human rights. America was founded upon the recognition that human rights are universal and innate—something a man is born with, not something he can be required to earn. This is the legacy of ideals to the present generation from the fathers of our country. But the present generation of Americans has another legacy from America's past as well—a dismal legacy of discrimination and denial in practice of human rights to certain groups—in violation of the ideals.

The dismal legacy.—America has paid great homage to the concept of the "melting pot," but the significant fact about the melting pot is that it didn't happen for all. Basically, American institutions have always been white and American society has perceived itself to be White. Our society was willing to accept different peoples into it as economic necessity arose—but in numbers insufficient to alter the White, Anglo-Saxon character of the society. Integration in America has always meant the assimilation and absorption of a relatively few individuals into the mainstream—where they disappeared; it has never

meant the unification of another culture or community with the dominant one. The choice open to members of a disparate culture or community is to assimilate and disappear or to be isolated and relegated to second-class citizenship—or no citizenship at all in the case of the First Americans. The Dawes Act (1887), for example, made it legally possible for individual Indians to assimilate into white American society if they were willing to leave the reservation and give up their reservation property. The dominant White society of America has always had two solutions for dealing with a different culture in its midst: either dissolve the community or isolate it.

The minority cultures that constitute separate, identifiable communities are the American Indians, the Mexican-Americans, the Puerto Ricans, the Southern Appalachian Whites, and the Negro-Americans. The attitude of the dominant society toward the first four of these groups varies by region, by the size of the minority cultural group, and by its history within the American civilization. The Indians and the Mexican-Americans are still suffering the effects of having been conquered peoples—victims of America's period of colonialism in the nineteenth century.

The westward spread of settlement in the United States [was] imperialistic, reaching a strong expression in the American idea of manifest destiny. . . . At its best, . . . imperialism brought economic expansion and new standards of official administration and public health to native countries; at its worst, it meant brutal exploitation and inhumanity. In every instance, however, the pressure of an alien culture and the imposition of new forms of social organization meant the breakdown of traditional forms of life and the disruption of native civilization.

Imperialism also instills in the mind of the conqueror the conviction that the conquered are an inferior species of humanity:

People have labeled the Indian in terms of the relationship which the Anglo has had with him. When the colonists came to New England and needed the help and support of the Indians who befriended them—taught them to plant and loaned them food from their storehouses—the settlers named these kind of people "Noble Savages."

Later, in the settling of this country, Anglo-Americans wanted the lands of the First Americans. Because the Indians felt called upon to defend their own homelands they became known as "Treacherous Savages." In due course, the Anglo-Americans dominated the entire country; the Indians were incarcerated in reservations, subservient to the operational procedures of Anglo officials. As they became dependent upon and submitted to Anglo decisionmaking, they were more than once referred to as "Filthy Savages."

The purpose of American expansion was, of course, to gain lands for the burgeoning needs of the new country; it is not surprising, therefore, that the right of the conquered peoples to the ownership of their property was ignored.

The Anglo had technical, legal ways of establishing ownership of land, and the fact that one had lived there for generations did not prevent his eviction by court order. Spanish land grants which were to be respected forever and which had passed down through family inheritance were taken legally from Spanish families by greedy speculators. Stock-raising corporations leased land, over-grazed it, took their profits, and left.

The human rights of these two groups, the American Indians and the Mexican-Americans, are still unrealized in many cases—at least in those cases where they remain a clearly identifiable group or community. The assumption of Anglo supremacy prevails.

The American saga is replete with expressions of homage to the ideals of universal human rights. Americans were proud of the melting pot ideal. All who wished to be free could come to America's cities.

"Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free." The concept of the melting pot has survived generations of deliberate exclusionary immigration policies. Each succeeding wave of immigrants was accepted generously—until their numbers became such as to threaten dilution of the Anglo-Saxon dominance of the institutions and the race. The exclusionary laws indicate an enormous racial and ethnic bias in favor of Northern Europeans and against all others, particularly members of other races.

Immigration of Chinese to the West Coast, although it hastened the development of the area, was greeted with a long series of race riots which ended only

with passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882). The provisions of this act, which had been designed to end the influx of Chinese coolies, were eventually extended to exclude other classes of immigrants.

When westward expansion ended and labor became organized, a movement to restrict further European immigration developed. Various elements of the population argued that—

Unrestricted immigration of unskilled laborers could lower wages and the standard of living.

Because their political, social, and religious loyalties made them difficult to assimilate, immigration of Southern and Eastern Europeans endangered American institutions.

Concentration of recent immigrants in urban centers delayed their adoption of the American culture.

Immigration might result in population explosion.

Further admixture could cause physical deterioration of the American stock.

As a result of this movement, the first legislation restricting immigration on the basis of ethnic origin was passed in 1917: Immigration from southwestern Asia was prohibited.

In 1921, the "National Origins Act" was passed to restrict immigration from postwar Europe.

In 1924, the annual quota for European immigration was reduced to 2 percent of the number of each country's natives who lived in the United States in 1890—thus favoring the Northern European peoples—and all aliens not eligible for citizenship were excluded. Thus the Japanese in particular, and all other Asiatics as well, were excluded.

In 1943, the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed and a small quota for Chinese immigrants was established.

In 1952, the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act (the McCarran-Walter Act) strengthened the national and ethnic bias of the quota system.

The newest arrivals in America's cities are the Puerto Ricans, the Southern Appalachians, and the Negroes. The reaction of the older inhabitants toward the first two groups is in the tradition mold of suspicion, fear and resentment.

To be sure, it is not Negroes alone who find the move painful. In New York, the Puerto Rican population has swelled from perhaps 100,000 in 1940 to over 700,000 in 1960; with this increase has come a host of social problems. And Cincinnati, Baltimore, St. Louis, Columbus, Detroit, and Chicago, among other cities, receive a steady stream of impoverished white hillbillies from the Southern Appalachian Mountains. These Appalachian Whites—the oldest and purest Anglo-Saxon stock in the United States—have at least as much initial difficulty adjusting to the city as do the Negroes and Puerto Ricans. . . .

It is the explosive growth of their Negro populations, however, that constitute the large cities' principal problem and concern. The Puerto Rican and Appalachian Whites affect only a limited number of cities, usually only a limited way; but every city has a large and growing Negro population. . . . There is no large city . . . which does not have a large and potentially explosive Negro problem.

Each new immigrant group to America's large cities was ghettoized in the slums and was poor. But members of the immigrant groups—even the Puerto Ricans, who are not Anglo-Saxon—who acquired some wealth have been able more or less to disappear, thus following the American assimilation ideal.

Even with a Ph.D., a Nobel Prize, a Congressional Medal of Honor or a vast fortune, a Negro is still a "nigger" to many (most?) white Americans and the society does not let him forget it for very long.

The feeling of race solidarity on the part of whites led to a contempt for the Negro and the classification of all who had any drop of Negro blood with those who were entirely black.

Thus, assimilation for the Negro in America has been impossible; he cannot change his name and move to the suburbs, or go to California and become "Old Spanish." Negroes, although they share the common curse of poverty with the Indians, the Mexicans, and the Appalachians, differ from them in America's eyes because they are black.

Mr. FISCHER. It addresses itself to the problems, primarily the abridgment of rights of the minority groups. For many reasons, their

culture and cultural backgrounds don't dovetail too well with the majority in this country and as a result they have suffered a lot of deprivations in their rights as well as in other things. It is a good report and one of the recommendations that came out of the report was the establishment of a Human Relations Center at NEA. This has been in operation now almost 2 years, and out of that have grown over 200 human relations centers around the country which are beginning to move on this.

I gave a speech to their annual conference the other night. About 600 people came. The title of my talk was "The Melting Pot Won't Melt." I agree, and I don't think it necessarily should. I won't belabor you. We think the objective of this is not only noble but needed.

Mr. PUCINSKI. One of the things that Dr. Fein testified and other witnesses is that the time is long past due when we have to recognize that we are dealing with human beings and we are not dealing with robots. We are dealing with the people and people don't grow on trees. You don't crank them up and set them to work.

Dr. Fein said that we have made a mistake in failing to recognize that because they are human beings of different cultures and different races and different religions, different backgrounds. There are walls. Now we have been trying for a hundred years to tear down these walls and we have failed. We have polarized the country and today this country is uptight and there is probably greater hostility among people in America today. The rest of the world is saying, "What's happened to America?" What is happening to the people of this country? Our own people are saying what is happening to our country. I think what is happening is that we have tried to knock down the walls instead of, as Dr. Fein said, build some bridges between these walls and start looking into each other and start recognizing each other for what we are, recognizing that we are all a little different, and then because we are a little different try to seek out the best of our differences and bridge them together. That is what this legislation is designed to do and I am really pleased that you recognize that.

I think your suggestion as to is there a better way of doing it is a very valid suggestion because I am not sure. Maybe there is a better way of structuring this bill than an amendment to the ESEA. I appreciate your concern because every time you tack anything on the ESEA something else suffers.

I think your recommendation is a sincere one, I am not disturbed, and one that we are grateful to you for.

Mr. FISCHER. I am going to ask Mr. McFarland and Mrs. Gereau if they have any comments on this. I think they do.

Mr. MCFARLAND. I would like to talk about the possibilities of looking into ESEA. As you know from your involvement in the development of this legislation, one of the major problems facing education today is the retraining of teachers. If this program in EPDA is ever implemented and funded, it offers a ready vehicle to provide the training and insights that some of the present teachers need. When we talk about school programs and the whole area of ethnic problems, one of the major problems facing us will be doing something with people who are now teaching.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I appreciate your comments.

Mr. McFARLAND. I don't know whether it is possible. We talk about making a Christmas tree out of ESEA, maybe it could be said we are suggesting that we are making a Christmas tree out of other things. But on the other hand, I think it might be worthwhile looking into.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We will try and see whether we can do it. We have just gone through three days of extensive hearings before the Rules Committee and I think it was a good healthy hearing. I was very pleased to be able to hear the exchange of ideas before the Rules Committee and to see the members of the Rules Committee ask questions that sometimes we in our own committee fail to ask each other. I think that there has to be some sort of an effort made to bring all these programs into some more efficient management. So your suggestion is a very good one.

Mrs. Gereau.

Mrs. GEREAU. I just want to reiterate Mr. Fischer's statement and congratulate the committee on the inclusion of section 904 which specifically, as far as I know, for the first time in any legislation, says it recognizes the expertise of elementary and secondary teachers. We have had problems for some time as you know, Mr. Congressman; you have also been on our side on this.

The Office of Education tends to appoint people to committees who are college professors or anything else but the people who are, in effect, on the firing line.

The other comment I would make is somewhat facetious but I think you would like to know that we recognize the ethnic makeup of the sponsors of the H.R. 14910 and I would suggest that in addition to the distinguished sponsors you have—have you forgotten Mr. St. Onge, who is French, Mr. Reifel, who is Indian, Mr. Gonzales, who is Spanish, and there are a few others that you could get on it. I think it is an interesting group of sponsors and I commend all of them for their concern for this problem that you have recognized so well.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That section 904(a)(3) that you found so nice a subject, of course I want to see in this bill because I have got the best lobbyist in the world right at home at dinner every night, a schoolteacher for a daughter, and I have a teacher who is the clerk of this committee, Miss Kislá, who comes out of the teaching profession, has been teaching in the inner city.

Mrs. GEREAU. It is landmark legislation in that respect, sir, because I believe from my own survey of the laws that it is the first time this kind of language has been put in a bill where it specifically mentions expertise of school teachers. I think that is very good.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You are right. We pass laws here and this country is now on a big kick, everybody is wondering what has happened to American education and everybody is asking everybody except the people they ought to be asking, and that is the teachers, because I think the teachers could probably tell us more what is wrong than the other people and the parents. Those two factors probably know more about the problem, the teacher and the parent, and they are usually left out in left field someplace, and the experts are made up of people who really don't know.

We are very grateful to you for your testimony and we certainly are going to look into your suggestion.

Mr. FISCHER. Thank you very much.

(Mr. Fischer's prepared statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF GEORGE D. FISCHER, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee: It is a pleasure to appear before the Subcommittee on Education again to present the views of the National Education Association on matters of mutual concern.

The objective of HR 14910 is one we can endorse. Knowledge of the contribution of the variety of ethnic backgrounds to the development of this Nation is essential to each individual's education as an American citizen. As the bill points out, each person should be well versed in the contribution not only of his own ethnic group, but more particularly he should know, and therefore respect, the contribution of others. Black studies should not be just for Black students. Those of Italian ancestry should know not only of the great contributions of Italians, but also of that made by the Polish, Irish, Greeks, Indians, etc. The clannishness of some ethnic groups in some areas has been a detriment to minorities in their communities. We do not believe this is in the interest of the country. Conflicts between ethnic groups have been responsible for some degrading chapters in our Nation's history.

We recognize that the purpose of HR 14910 is to provide educational services to schools which will result in enhancing each student's pride and self-esteem as a member of an ethnic group. This is fine, so long as this pride and self-esteem does not result in hatred for those of other ethnic groups who, at an earlier time in our history—and not always in the distant past—were oppressors of his ethnic group. We do not need more dissension and diversity in this country, I'm sure all will agree.

We appreciate the wording of Section 904 (a) (3) of this bill which refers to the expertise of elementary and secondary school teachers. Their involvement in Federal educational programs, unless specifically directed by Congress, tends to be virtually nil. We agree that without such involvement a program will tend to be in-depth college research—which seldom reaches the schoolchildren.

We have a practical reservation about legislation of this type being added to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This Act is becoming a "Christmas tree" with a plethora of titles, each with a special administrative structure. We believe the objectives of HR 14910 are more related to the Cooperative Research Act and the Education Professions Development Act, since the focus of the legislation is aimed at improving teachers' skills through provision of training and materials. We suggest that rather than a new Title to ESEA a joint resolution be adopted expressing the intent of Congress that ethnic heritage studies be provided by the U.S. Commissioner of Education through existing programs such as the Cooperative Research Act, the Education Professions Development Act, and the Arts and Humanities Act.

In brief, what we are saying is that the intent of the legislation is commendable, but we believe the objective can be achieved through existing legislation of Congress so indicates its wishes.

We appreciate this opportunity to express our views on HR 14910.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you.

The general subcommittee stands recessed until further notice.

(Whereupon, at 3.45 p.m., the general subcommittee recessed subject to call.)

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 4, 1970

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
GENERAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, D.C.

The general subcommittee met at 10 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 2251, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Roman C. Pucinski (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representative Pucinski.

Staff members present: John F. Jennings, majority counsel; and Alexandra Kisla, clerk.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We have several hearings going this morning so we will start this one and other members will come up as we move along.

I would like, before the first witness comes up, to insert in the record this morning an excerpt from the report of the Carnegie Commission on Equality in Higher Education. The Carnegie Commission issued the report yesterday and I was very pleased to read:

The Commission does not believe that post-secondary education is the best level at which we should begin correcting the ethnic imbalance of the curriculum. If a lack of ethnic self-awareness and a sense of inferiority begin in elementary school, then we must begin to attack these problems there.

From kindergarten on, every student can benefit from learning the history from his own ethnic group and those of his classmates, and about the rich diversity of his nation's culture. Such study is not a substitute for the development of basic verbal and mathematical skills, but students deserve the opportunity to study ethnic experiences and to use the intellectual resources of their schools to seek an understanding of problems of their own communities.

I am very pleased to get this unsolicited support from the Carnegie Commission on the legislation that we have before us.

Our first witness this morning is Mr. Bernard Wax, director of the American Jewish Historical Society.

Mr. Wax, I wonder if you would like to come forward. Your entire statement will go into the record at this point and why don't you proceed in any manner you wish.

STATEMENT OF BERNARD WAX, DIRECTOR, AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Mr. Wax. Mr. Chairman, I have a prepared statement entitled "Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers, a Crying Need" which I have submitted to the committee for its examination and comment. I will be glad to elaborate on it at some future time if it is so desired.

I believe the field of ethnic studies in the United States has had a

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comparatively short and chequered history since the creation of the first societies devoted to this field of study in the 1890's.

The American Jewish Historical Society was created in 1892 and was the first of a large number of ethnic societies. Its purpose was to teach the contributions which the Jews had played in the United States. In essence, this effort was to make everyone aware of the contribution of Jews and apparently this effort was extremely successful at that particular time. It was done primarily to create an exhibition during the 1892 celebration commemorating the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.

Until very recently a cavalier attitude has existed toward the intensive study of the varied racial, religious, ethnic, and immigrant minority groups which comprise so great a bulk of our Nation's more than 200 million inhabitants. This condescending view was held not only by the political, economic, and social leaders of the American community, for a variety of reasons, but, I might add, also by the academic and intellectual communities as well.

The concept of searching for a knowledge and understanding of one's background was viewed by academicians as folly. They felt it was conceived by narrow-minded and restricted individuals whose main purposes were chauvinistic and who sought self-aggrandizement or, at the very least, a parity of citizenship with those "untainted" by minority group status. Critics in colleges and universities and schools throughout our land fumed and fussed over the non-American or even anti-American character of such studies. To be involved in such work was a stigma, which, almost uniformly, consigned scholars researching minority groups to the lowest educational status.

However, since the 1930's, particularly with the advent of the works accomplished under the WPA, a revolution has taken place on all levels within the American community, a recognition of the diversity of the American citizen in his background and makeup and a realization that American society is not a melting pot which produces like persons who are stamped out like toy tin soldiers. It is now commonly conceded that each of us is unique with a distinct heritage and background whose interaction with others has created one of the most unusual societies ever known to mankind. No longer is diversity considered to be a problem to be overcome, ignored or swept under the rug of neglect and inattention.

The rise of ethnic studies departments, the creation of minority group cultural surveys, and demographic reports, the formation of social and religious historical associations and the vast number of publications devoted to the study of American Indians, Puerto Ricans, Poles, Irish, Black, Chinese, Italians, and Jews, to name but a few, confirm this new status. Academics, political and social leaders and even businessmen look with comparative benignity upon this new state of affairs.

However, for most, if not all of these groups, this accolade may be too late. Because of this previous neglect, which certainly was not benign, two generations virtually ignored the collection and preservation of those materials which would help present and future citizens of our country understand the nature and experiences of our diverse citizenry, and their contributions to and involvement in the American scene.

Only through the dedication of very small numbers of enlightened persons have a few elements had even mild success in collecting, preserving, and propagating information alluding to the study of their respective constituencies. And even these suffer from the lack of funds and of a labor force to accomplish their tasks in an adequate fashion.

Of the 50-odd ethnic societies listed in the Directory of the American Association for State and Local History, only a handful have respectable research facilities and even fewer can point to adequate publications and exhibits which mean so much in our education-oriented society. These include such organizations as the Polish-American Historical Association; the Norwegian-American Historical Association; Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; Swedish Pioneer Historical Society; and the American-Jewish Historical Society. Because of these inadequacies, the natural patrons of such facilities and publications, the schools, are unable to provide a respectable modicum of information to impart to students or to formulate substantial and worthwhile curriculums centered on this important phase of American history. Curriculum planners throughout the country are in dire straits because of this lack of information and as a result American education and American children will suffer from ignorance and a lack of understanding of their own background as well as that of their fellow students.

It is my firm conviction that H.R. 14910, the ethnic heritage societies centers bill, would do much to alleviate the ignorance, misunderstandings, and misconceptions of the role of the various minority groups in America held by our citizenry. By concentrating on the development and provision of curriculum materials for use in elementary and secondary schools a tremendous and dangerous gap in knowledge and understanding will be filled.

What is particularly of importance is the inclusion of the provision for the training of persons utilizing or preparing to utilize the curriculum materials which would result from the activities of such Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers. Without this proviso much of the purpose and intent of the bill would be lost. The passage of this bill would result in the forging of new paths in the educational field, for such training does not exist in any form.

Without the benefit of the best transmission of information, knowledge, and understanding to pupils, and indirectly to their friends and relatives, our efforts will be for naught. The present restlessness of our younger generation and its alienation from our society and its institutions to a great extent evolves from a lack of communication with, and an understanding of, the past. Our great need is for training centers for library personnel and researchers, the strengthening of existing agencies and the preparation of guidelines for these and future agencies so that they will not operate in a vacuum.

John F. Kennedy put it eloquently in his introduction to the American Heritage New Illustrated History of the United States:

There is little that is more important for an American citizen to know than the history and tradition of his country. Without such knowledge, he stands uncertain and defenseless before the world, knowing neither where he has come from nor where he is going. With such knowledge, he is no longer alone but draws a strength far greater than his own from the accumulative experience of the past and the accumulative vision of the future.

With the passage and implementation of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers bill such knowledge will be made available of our numerous minority groups and thereby strengthen our entire citizenry and the democratic process.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you very much.

I was wondering—I believe you heard me read the excerpt from the Carnegie report and I am very pleased with the position that the report takes on this subject. I was wondering if you would care to elaborate on the long range and the short range advantages of having young people know more about themselves.

It seems to me somewhat incongruous that, in a nation such as ours where the one most single and significant distinguishing feature of the American people is their heterogeneous complexion, that absolutely no effort is made at any level of education to provide a meaningful education of their background.

We have talked about the melting pot. I have said many, many times in these hearings that I don't want to be a piece of stew in this melting pot. I may be a kind of gravy but I still want to be an individual in myself. Apparently the Carnegie Commission also recognizes that.

Mr. WAX. I think it is probably one of the best things that has happened to the American scene so far as its youthful population is concerned in many years. I think that the young people are in the same mood as you, in regard to this question of being part of a stew.

In fact, as I pointed out in my statement, I think this is one of the reasons we have great alienation in the young because they don't understand where they came from or where they are going.

At the time that I worked in the State of Illinois, and now in my current position, I find, particularly in the Jewish population where much of this alienation is now currently being expressed, that there is a complete lack of information about the Jewish experience in the United States.

Much of the Jewish history which is taught is biblical or oriented toward the creation of the State of Israel.

During the past 76 years we have made efforts to teach, but teach only adults about this particular field, and we have oriented our work primarily to the major colleges and universities rather than the high school field.

However, we are now learning, through our experiences with college students in particular, that they come to college without any indication of what role their minority group has played in the formation of America and its experiences.

For instance, very few students know anything about the role of Jews—and I use this term simply because I represent the Jewish Historical Society and the same could be said of any minority group—the role the Jews played, in the major events in history. They know nothing, practically, about Jewish involvement in the American Revolution.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I will have you know in Chicago, in the heart of our loop, there is a big monument and it shows three historical figures, one of which was a revolutionary—

Mr. WAX. Haym Salomon—

Mr. PUCINSKI. One question I want to ask you. When we talk of ethnic groups and minority groups, there is a tendency in this country to immediately relate to the non-Whites, the Latin-American, the Oriental, essentially the so-called identifiable minority groups.

But when you look at the polyglot fabric of America, I think that every ethnic group, in a way, is a minority group. I am sure that when we had some 10,000 people Saturday night in Chicago protesting President Pompidou's policy of selling jets to Libya, the small handful of French-American citizens who were there must have felt pretty much like a minority.

It seems to me that, perhaps, we ought to recognize the fact that, in a sense, all of us are members of some minority group if we are treated individually and it would be my hope that this emphasis on ethnic studies certainly would not be confined to the so-called identifiable ethnic groups of America and those are the ones we commonly refer to as the minorities, the Blacks, the Latin-Americans, the Puerto Ricans, the Mexicans, but rather have a much broader fabric, including all identifiable ethnic groups. I would, of course, include in this the various religious groups, as well.

One question I was wondering about. We have had some negative experience from ethnic study centers and we have had some excellent experience.

There are a number of ethnic study centers already functioning and they have produced some meaningful assistance, and there are ethnic study centers now that are doing a pretty impressive job.

Conversely, the Berkeley, Calif., people had a rather bad experience with the Black studies center that they established. They had to shut it down, apparently, because it turned from an ethnic study center to a political center.

How would you recommend that we insure against that kind of activity in this bill? It certainly is not my purpose—and I am sure not the purpose of any other cosponsor of this bill—that these ethnic studies centers be anything but institutions that will develop curriculum material and textbook material and slides on the cultural history, economic history, of any given ethnic group.

I am sure that we do not intend for these to become political activities centers. How can we guarantee against it?

Mr. MAX. To make certain that a major portion of your governing bodies of these institutions be composed of bona fide academicians; secondly, that if you are to give support to presently organized institutions, as well as the new ones, then aid, which is the purpose of the bill, to aid, should be based on an examination of these institutions and their records of performance in the past.

I think here is, again, an area in which you can use the history of a particular organization to determine that action.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think you have put your finger on the best way to guarantee against these becoming political institutions, to leave this in the hands of the university, itself, and the academicians in the university where I am sure that, as scholars, they themselves would, I would think, deeply resent any infringement of political activity in what should be a highly scholarly development.

Then, of course, I think the other guarantee is the funding itself. You still have a Commissioner of Education who is going to have to

fund these programs and if in his judgment, there was a tendency to try to convert an institute like this into a political activity, he would do what he does in other education fields.

That threat arises in everything we do in our whole higher education program. The administrators have to decide at what point is this an academic institution and at what point is it a political outpost.

Would I be safe in assuming that the argument that these might be turned into political activities centers is really not very sound?

Mr. WAX. I don't believe that it is, sir; no. I believe your final statement regarding the ability of the Commissioner of Education to terminate any funds, or source of any funds, is sufficient safeguard along these lines.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Wax, I am very grateful to you for your testimony. When we started out with this bill, I knew that there was a need for something along this line and for many, many years I have realized that there was a need to provide material to our educational institutions which would give Americans a better idea of who they are, as individuals.

Since we have held hearings on this bill, I have been tremendously impressed with how aware the educational community is of this problem. You might have gotten the impression that the educational community was not aware, that this was something that was cooked up by a group of individuals who had nothing else to do. But in testimony, like yours, we realize this is truly a very serious problem and we begin to perceive some of the reasons for the turmoil in this country.

I think that we are now paying the price of trying to homogenize two million human beings into one mold and I think this is particularly true in the young people. They wander around aimlessly and they take on all sorts of weird customs and habits, seeking some kind of identity.

I wonder if that identity is right there if it was only made available to them.

Mr. WAX. At the current time there is a curriculum planning development program going on in the New York school system in which the desire of the curriculum planners is to secure information regarding the various minority groups which are represented in the New York community. Since this is such a large community, they have a great deal to experiment with.

I have been working somewhat closely with a number of individuals involved, working out a curriculum planning program for the Jewish population which, as you probably know, comprises almost 25 percent of the New York City urban area population.

There is a crying need for them to secure information which would only be available in the ethnic centers.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We have this in my own office. We have teachers who call us and want to know if we have any information. It is really appalling how little information we have on these subjects and then how shallow the information is that we do have. There is really no concerted effort.

Would you anticipate that a bill like this ought to provide some planning money? It seems to me that we have overlooked one thing in this bill. We say we are going to set up an ethnic study center. It would occur that a university would have to come in with a proposal.

Perhaps the universities and all of those interested in this field, including private organizations have the resources to do their own planning. I wonder if I can get from you how you feel about including some language about making some funds available for planning ethnic studies center before the final grant request is made.

Mr. WAX. I think this would be an absolute necessity. I don't think it could be done in any other fashion. There should be a program in which the recommendations of various people who work in the field—the academicians who teach ethnic studies should also be included in such a planning program should be heard. I think this is the only way you can get a structured system elaborated, one in which you can include the organizations which already exist, as well as any new organizations which might be created.

I think the only way you would be able to substantially create a viable bill would be one in which recommendations would be received and a planning conference held for this purpose.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We are very grateful to you and the American Jewish Historical Society for your testimony here this morning. I am privileged that you could be here and I know that your testimony will carry a great deal of weight in the final analysis.

We will stand in recess until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 11:15 a.m. the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

AFTER RECESS

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:45 p.m., Hon. Roman C. Pucinski presiding.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. We do want to welcome Mr. Stanley Balzekas, Jr., to the committee.

Mr. Balzekas is with the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture. He is from Chicago. We would certainly like to welcome to the committee Mr. Balzekas.

We will include your statement in its entirety in the record at this point, and perhaps you may want to just summarize and give us a little more time to discuss the bill itself and perhaps ask some questions here.

(The statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF STANLEY BALZEKAS, JR., BALZEKAS MUSEUM OF LITHUANIAN CULTURE, CHICAGO, ILL.

My name is Stanley Balzekas, Jr. I am the Founder, President and Director of the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture in Chicago, Illinois. It is my pleasure to appear before this committee. I want to take this opportunity to congratulate the Honorable Roman C. Pucinski, Chairman for the General Subcommittee on Education, and the Committee of Education and Labor for their efforts and the tremendous work they have put forth on the "Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill 14910."

Ethnic studies will focus attention on every given individual, on America and every American's role in the cause of freedom and liberty. We at the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture have worked on outlines and programs to compile material on numerous ethnic groups residing in Chicago and the State of Illinois. It was only when I became Chairman of the Heritage Committee of the Illinois Sesquicentennial Celebration in 1968, that I realized the heartfelt satisfaction one derives from working with ethnic groups and one senses the enthusiasm and devotion they have not only to their own ethnic activities, but also to America's ideals of freedom and liberty. I had the opportunity to study and

delve into various ethnic groups and found, to my amazement, a vast amount of cultural activities taking place among these groups, but unknown to the general public.

At this point, I would like to be more specific on the benefits of ethnic studies. At the present time, if an individual wants to study any given ethnic group, it would be almost an impossibility. First of all, the information required is not in one location and what is at hand is not readily available or classified. It is extremely difficult and time-consuming to go through hundreds of documents, volumes and organizations to find an answer to the simplest question. By having a program in which students can be alerted to cultural activities and information on ethnic groups and then be able to contact or visit the center, an entire new facet of education would begin; particularly in elementary and secondary schools.

In every ethnic group there are numerous individuals who are working in various cultural endeavors and in the field of humanities. Unfortunately, much of this work is lost because the ethnic groups do not have sponsorship or encouragement of universities or any organizations to help underwrite the cost and to catalog the material. In the literary field there are thousands upon thousands of fine works being published in numerous languages, but these are not being recorded at any university, college or library. Some of this work is fair . . . other mediocre . . . most of it is excellent. However, I believe that by having a center for ethnic studies, this material could and would be sent to universities which could specialize departments in that particular field. This would enable scholars and students of the universities to study the contribution of the ethnic groups in addition to the American contributions, especially in the field of humanities.

To lead the work in scholarly endeavors, one must recognize and study other cultures and be able to develop one's own greatness. The ethnic studies program would be a repository for material written in various languages, which is being lost in our society primarily because of the lack of translation into the English language. By having an ethnic study center, translation would be much easier for several reasons. For example:

1. The center would have language programs, both introductory and advanced, which would be able to translate much of this material.
2. Material which has great value will be translated and published for all the universities and educational institutions throughout the country. Here again the elementary and secondary student, scholar and citizen would have a new source of information.

One of the interesting sidelights of the Ethnic Heritage Study Center Bill will be that in the given centers one would find not only the people of that particular ethnic group using the facilities, but you will find groups from other ethnic and nationality groups being attracted to the centers to view the different, interesting and cultural opportunities and will be using the information. We at the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture find that 50% of our attendance using the Museum facilities are non-Lithuanian, but enjoy the activities, programs and other cultural endeavors presented by the Museum.

At the present time, there are millions of people, both young and adult, working on various projects, hobbies and studying in fields of all varieties of subjects. Many of these people have not had a formal education or any degree from universities; yet they are experts in their field or fields and have an extremely fine working knowledge, cultural interest and are now working with other small groups of individuals who are interested in the same subject matter. These people, who lack a good command of the English language, feel inadequate to enter into universities or higher institutions of learning in order to continue their studies and work. By having ethnic centers, these people can continue their studies and not only aid the scholars of our land, but many scholars would be extremely pleased to work with these people and, in many cases, aid the universities in their ever-seeking quest for additional knowledge. The centers will encourage young people which may be possibly their first exposure to the benefits of cultural endeavors and exposure to the humanities.

The Ethnic Studies Program will bring to the average family a great desire of which we are lacking in many of our areas: that of a family working together as a unit. Because of the ethnic studies, children as well as adults and grandparents can participate in programs of the ethnic centers, work in different fields or on the same project, bring their knowledge home. This would stimulate their own thinking and encourage their friends and neighbors to work on their

projects, which I think we all recognize today as something we need most desperately.

The information obtained from the centers will be conveyed to the students in elementary and secondary schools. This will enable the students to actually visualize and become acquainted with the culture of many people not only from their immediate surroundings, but better understand other ethnic groups. An individual will be more tolerant and better prepared to meet the challenge of today's problems by knowing all peoples in our society.

Lithuanians as an ethnic group are one of the most active and have contributed greatly to the cultural, civic and social activities in our country. This is the 100th year anniversary of the first eighteen Lithuanians to arrive in the Chicago area to work on the railroads and the Western expansion of the United States. The Lithuanian community, in the Chicago area as an example, have established churches, hospitals, schools and have in their programming, opera, drama groups, historical societies, participate in sport events and are great contributors and supporters of all cultural endeavors. The Lithuanian Opera Company is the only independent opera company that is self-supporting and has sponsored many new operas. The Lithuanian community, as many other ethnic groups, is constantly working on cultural and scholarly programs. The Lithuanian community has published a Lithuanian encyclopedia and now has published a Lithuanian encyclopedia in English. This type of work fosters study of not only the adult but also the student who can participate and be part of an overall cultural project. The Lithuanian Press consists of many newspapers which carry the news of the city, the state, and the entire country. They also have cultural sections which recognize work of Americans and other ethnic groups. The Lithuanian community supports all the endeavors of the United States. They volunteer for Red Cross, hospital and relief work. They appreciate the effort of the United States to promote the spirit of liberty and freedom for all. Much can be learned by their four-hundred organizations in the Chicago area alone and all are devoted to the betterment of their community. They also continue to work in close harmony with family and neighbors. Chicago is the center of Lithuanian activities in the United States although there is a very large number of Lithuanians throughout the United States. There are approximately 150,00 Lithuanians in the Chicago area.

The interest to be created by the Ethnic Heritage Study Center Bill will stimulate the thinking of educational institutions as well as the students and adults. From this bill, the stimulation of the studies by private interests, educational institutions, foundations, etc., will multiply as time goes on.

The Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture, like many other organizations in the Lithuanian community, is more than happy and willing to work with other ethnic groups just as other ethnic groups are willing to work with the Lithuanian community. We at the Balzekas Museum believe that the greatest asset the United States has is its people.

The Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture is not only a repository of the culture of one people, their past history, their contribution to the United States, their contribution to the world, but most important it serves as an inspiration to the future generations of all people who study the past so that we can make the present and future better.

The library at the Museum is unique in the fact that material received on Lithuania is cataloged in a specialized section dealing with that particular subject matter. The library consists of all literary material pertaining to Lithuania in English and other languages as well the centers. The library gives depth to the Museum and stimulates interest again as will the ethnic centers, in scholarly endeavors. The Museum is fast becoming a research center from which many of its exhibits and programs are geared for all people and varied interests.

The task is not as difficult as it appears. Any duplication of material which would be obtained and donated to the centers, as it is to the Museum, can be preserved for future sub-centers or minor centers which, I am confident, would spring up throughout the entire country. By having a repository for information which will be broken down; i.e., art, literature, heraldry, numismatics, folk art crafts, architecture and many, many other classifications, many of the lost arts will be rediscovered. The difficulty now is that there are very few archives and repositories throughout the country, with the exception of the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture, who catalog and classify every piece of material and house it in one location.

The Museum has many departments, including a traveling museum which goes to other institutions, organizations, schools and libraries. The traveling department of the Museum is very educational and is in constant use. In many areas of the city, an exhibit is geared to the likes and needs of particular institutions and organizations requesting it. This type of traveling section, I am certain, could be developed from the activities of the Ethnic Centers so that the large majority of people would be able to view and become familiar with the type of material assembled.

For example, the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture has an art gallery and art classes, in addition to an archives on Lithuanian artists and their works throughout the world. This particular department is extremely valuable in that it gives the Museum additional activities and can keep up with the latest trends and moods of art.

The Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture prepares programs and exhibits not only in the Lithuanian field, but specializes in activities that stimulate thinking pertaining to the humanities. The exhibits range from art exhibits to history of America and a wide range of subjects in the field of Americana, with special interest on programs dealing with participation for the entire family.

The Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture receives many inquiries from adults and young people who remember their grandmothers, grandfathers or great uncle as being Lithuanian, Latvia, German, French, etc. These individuals would like to reminisce and go back into the history and cultural aspects of their forefathers and, if nothing else, obtain information on a given country they remember someone speaking of many, many years ago. At the present time, these individuals have no place to go, no place to contact, except a library which, in most cases, has numerous volumes available on information and statistics relating to production, etc., and no information relative to the activities of the ethnic groups in the United States and the information is not current. Also, when people come to the Balzekas Museum in search of answers to specific questions, we try to give them the information or help them secure the information from other sources. Students from both elementary and secondary schools and numerous adults, use the Museum facilities in ever increasing numbers.

I have devoted a great deal on the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture in this presentation for the sole purpose of bringing to light that the Ethnic Heritage Study Center Bill 14910 is long overdue, needed, necessary and workable. Institutions such as the Balzekas Museum are already working on their own programs of this nature because they have discovered a vast vacuum and urgent need for this cultural endeavor. This is but a small example of what we have done. The purpose and results of Bill 14910 will benefit every individual in the United States and perhaps start similar programs such as these throughout the world.

If I may suggest at this time, Chicago would be an ideal location for a Lithuanian Ethnic Center because of the great universities and other leading cultural and educational institutions. Chicago has the largest and most active Lithuanian community. The Lithuanian community, as well as the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture, would do everything possible to initiate and help start such a program. We would also assist other ethnic groups to start their own programs, not only in Chicago, but throughout the United States.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We are very much impressed with the work of the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture. It has been able to preserve in this country a great deal of valuable and important items on Lithuanian history and the tremendous contribution that Lithuania has made over the years to the development of cultural standards.

So we are very pleased to have you with us before the committee today.

STATEMENT OF STANLEY BALZEKAS, JR., BALZEKAS MUSEUM OF LITHUANIAN CULTURE, CHICAGO, ILL.

Mr. BALZEKAS. I want to thank you, Congressman Pucinski, and the committee, for giving me the opportunity to speak before the committee today.

I think we are all well aware of the fact that there is a great need for the Heritage bill and, after studying the bill, I find it to be a wonderful piece of work. A lot of care has been given this bill, and a lot of work has gone into it. I think it will contribute to all cultures and to everyone in the United States, plus the fact that it will probably be a pilot type of program for the other countries of the world.

I would like to speak a little bit about the activities of the Balzekas Museum. One of the reasons for that is the fact that we have been working in a Lithuanian community.

As you know, Chicago has the largest Lithuanian population in the country. It has over 400 different Lithuanian organizations. It has four Lithuanian newspapers and a Lithuanian opera that is self-supporting, and not only helps Lithuanians but other ethnic groups.

The museum was officially opened in June of 1966, and we are actually a repository for all Lithuanian material, works of Lithuanians or any articles or items relating to Lithuanian history.

We have developed, over the period of years, into a cultural center, and it might be surprising to this committee that when we have an exhibit or any other program, usually half of our attendance, or sometimes greater than half, are non-Lithuanians. We try to provide programs that will involve the entire family.

We find most of the time, that children are imitators of their parents, and if we can get the entire family as a unit to participate in some program, we find that the children, in future years will become collectors or start to work in their own particular cultural endeavor. The programing could be in any given ethnic culture.

I think the need for ethnic centers is great because you are going to attract other ethnic groups and people who have relatively no ethnic background, and from the various exhibits and information they can receive, people are going to get interested in all ethnic activities.

We find that sometimes non-Lithuanians and Lithuanians come to our outstanding research library, in search of various topics, and varied information. It is always possible for them to find additional information or sources where we can recommend them to go if we cannot furnish the information.

When you set up your centers, I assume that you are going to set up the centers where you will have various departments. In other words, you will be working in the field of humanities primarily so that when you establish a center, for instance in the arts, a person will be able to translate much of the material that is written in Lithuanian, such as literature, so that other nationalities could get a translation.

Right now what is happening is that there is a great deal of work being done, but unfortunately it is not being translated or it is being lost in ethnic communities.

The centers should provide individuals who are writing now, regardless of what nationality, a place to put their material. A vast amount of good material is coming out, but no one has the resources to translate this material and send it out to the various universities and schools.

If this material, which could be Greek, Irish, or Polish is translated, and if a given university is interested in literature for example, it would be a very simple matter to study and explore the work of one nationality as compared to all ethnic groups.

Do you have any questions?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes.

First of all, as you know, the bill would envision the research centers entering into, if they so wished, a contractual arrangement with an institution like your own to do some of the research for a center.

Since you have already a good start, we envision utilizing this tremendous reservoir of material, this storehouse of information that frequently cannot be found elsewhere.

I know that as I walk through some of these ethnic museums that we have in the country such as yours, I find historical material that just isn't available anywhere. I was intrigued in walking through the Polish Museum in Chicago to find that they have a replica of Paderewski's room and all of his personal papers. It is just really a treasure of historical data that I don't think exists even in our own Library of Congress, which is frequently considered the world's greatest storehouse on the humanities.

Let me ask you, Mr. Balzekas, a question that we have not been asking at the hearings, but I would think that you would be particularly qualified to discuss it. What impact do you believe inclusion of Lithuanian history in an elementary or high school civics class or history class or social studies class would have on a young American of Lithuanian background?

What do you think it would do to that particular youngster?

Mr. BALZEKAS. Well, first of all, the youngster would become more cognizant of his past, and if his parents were living or his relatives were living, I know he would go and try to get more information.

Secondly, I think when children, for instance, discover that their friend sitting next to them may be Lithuanian or not Lithuanian, but the mere fact that he is of another nationality, as soon as you get to know people, you start to like them that much better.

I think starting at an early age and getting into the ethnic studies gives a little more purpose because the ethnic studies themselves not only cover culture but cover certain facets of our lives like music, different games, the history part, and sometimes if they are fortunate enough, they can learn a few words of the language, and that is even that much better.

Also, going into the advanced education, college or university level, this programing would fit in ideally with educational TV, which would again draw another group of people.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think your point there is well taken. I saw Sunday night in Chicago WMAQ, the NBC affiliate, carry a half-hour documentary on Chicago in relation to Warsaw, and the documentary is designed to try and tell the Chicago community something about this large group of Americans of Polish descent in the community.

While I am mindful of the limitations of a half-hour show, particularly with a number of commercials in between, it did seem to me that there was a tendency to be somewhat superficial and deal with situations that are really not very realistic today in trying to describe communities that are just not there anymore.

It was a good show. I have no criticism of it or quarrel with it. I thought it was a very fine, sincere, and honest effort. It was quite apparent to me that, had the writer, the director of that show, had access

to an ethnic studies center where he could talk to the professional historians, where he could talk to people who are closely related to the overall picture of this particular ethnic group, the show would have been a good deal more productive in terms of bringing better understanding.

It was apparent to me that the person who wrote the show had very limited research material to work with. I imagine he looked at some newspaper clippings and perhaps had some interviews. He didn't have really the historical depth and richness that could go into an effort like this and give a lot of people a better understanding of why this particular segment of our community behaves the way it does or is the way it is or does what it does, maintains some of the customs.

It was quite apparent to me that there was a need for this sort of research center. That was proven to me very succinctly by this program.

I want to ask you if you would be in a position to discuss this question. What happens to a child in America who really doesn't know very much about himself? Is there a point in a person's life where he has to ask himself, "Who am I? Where do I come from?"

And does it help that youngster to know who he is and where he did come from? Do you feel that among the young Lithuanian children there is a feeling of perhaps inferiority when they find themselves in the non-Lithuanian environment simply because so little is known about the Lithuanian background and Lithuanian people?

Mr. BALZEKAS. Well, you have two situations actually. I am projecting this thought. By having an ethnic center and relating the information from the studies to the elementary school, you are going to stimulate additional emphasis on cultural heritage. Today's child who has had some ethnic background, has a little more meaningful future in the sense that he has another facet to look into, his heritage.

We find that the knowledge learned in the Lithuanian schools, and the Lithuanian classes at the museum, and when the youngsters become interested, they may not be able to speak the language, but they will know something about Lithuanian history. As they grow older, they don't lose interest, but there is a continued quest for additional knowledge.

The child who has no ethnic background or any place to learn from any given ethnic group, is truly losing a great deal out of life because we all learn from various cultures. The Lithuanian boy or girl, who doesn't learn anything about Lithuania, as he grows older, will find it very hard to study about his grandparents' birthplace or some of the customs and other interesting facets pertaining to Lithuanian culture.

The sooner one can introduce ethnic culture, the more a person can expand on it as he grows older.

It will not take the place of anything, but will actually be an addition to what he is learning.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We have had a great deal of studies in this committee and in various other places, a good supply of information about the emotional pressures on the youngster who is, for instance, Black, and who finds himself in an all-White environment, and there have been a number of professional studies made on what happens to this youngster emotionally and what this does to the youngster in terms

of his psyche and in terms of his attitude, his confidence. We know what are the results of that kind of environment.

But there has been very little, if any, study on American youngsters who are all White and yet find themselves in conflicting ethnic environments.

For instance, what happens to a Lithuanian child who conceivably might find himself or herself in a classroom of 25 youngsters who are predominantly Irish or Polish or German? Is there any difference or do they all amalgamate very easily and all homogenize?

I don't believe they do, but the differences are difficult to discover unless the child is willing to come home and tell you, "I got punched in the nose," because he happens to be Polish, by some proud little Irish boy, or some Italian child comes home and complains to his mother because the Lithuanians beat up on him.

I think that these differences exist, but we refuse to acknowledge them. We Americans have just tried to kind of say, "Oh, no, we are all melted together and there are no prejudices among small children."

Unfortunately, small children very frequently bring to school the prejudices of their parents whether it is in the White-Black relationship or the ethnic relationship.

Do you think that that exists or is this something that does not exist?

Mr. BALZEKAS. Well, I would like to give an example here of some of our folk dance groups. Much to my surprise, we had a number of Lithuanian groups who are very active, and the young people love to dance. I had many of the dancers come up to me and say, "I love to dance, and I love this group, and I am not Lithuanian."

In this case, they keep their own ethnic background, but they, too, like the work of other ethnic groups. I think this is what is so nice about the ethnic studies, the fact that you don't have to lose your identity.

It is just like the example of the little children. These children who have an ethnic identity, will still be assimilated temporarily into a group, but they will still have their own characteristics which gives our population a colorful look.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I was trying to find out the answer to this if you are in a position to tell us. We, for instance, have had some considerable experience with this around the country. You bring two or three Black children into an all-White classroom and, if there are animosities, they become apparent very quickly, and they are easily identifiable.

You can see where youngsters will shy away from the Negroes. The Negroes will cluster together, because they are fearful of their White counterparts. Animosity doesn't always exist because we have a great deal of evidence here where little children get together and the color line is totally meaningless, and they become very good friends and are close together.

Their parents would not feel that way, but the kids don't have these animosities.

Conversely, we do have situations where there are animosities, but they are easily identifiable, where you have a color line. They are less identifiable where you have an ethnic line, where a youngster with a very difficult, long, foreign name, German or Polish or Lithuanian

or Ukrainian, Jewish, finds himself in an environment of a classroom where the names are predominantly simple and Anglo-Saxon.

Now, that little youngster suffers a great deal of discrimination except it is very difficult to put your finger on it. It is almost impossible to identify it unless this youngster will tell you and usually the youngster is the last one to tell you.

It is this kind of discrimination which I believe exists, but I don't know to what extent. Would you venture an opinion?

Mr. BALZEKAS. I firmly believe it exists. I know in the Beverly Hills section, of Chicago, where I reside, many Lithuanians have moved into the neighborhood in recent years. Their children speak Lithuanian at home and when they go to school in the first and second year they have an accent which they lose after a few years.

There is that feeling of inferiority. The children themselves, as you say, are shy, and the other children are discriminating. We, of course, tell our children, "You introduce them to the other children and look after these children," and after a period of time I think children have a tendency, and this could go for White or Black, that again through friendship, knowledge, and association they are assimilated.

I would like to bring up one point. I think with the ethnic studies bill, as I see it, you are going to have to plan on diversified subjects as an outline for studies, and this will provide a more equal opportunity for all people. In our Americana Department at the museum we have a clock class, which has formed into the Chicago Clock Club where we study American clocks manufactured in the United States since the Revolutionary War.

Every clock lover in the city has probably attended one or two of our exhibits or classes, and it doesn't matter what nationality he is or what economic level he is. It could be the president of one of the top banks, or it could be a truckdriver, but if he knows the subject and he likes clocks, they get along very well.

Coming back to the ethnic studies, what will happen is that you are going to get people working in the various ethnic groups who possibly do not have a degree from college but are very well versed in their particular subject, who are going to come to these places and be able to contribute to the overall programs.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You see, this is why I asked these questions. I think an alert teacher and a very sensitive teacher usually will try to initiate discussions and lectures in her classroom about the background of these Lithuanian children, something about them so that their American counterparts quickly realize that, even though they speak a little differently, they are really not very different.

The main thrust of this legislation is to help develop educational material which will help a teacher where she has a polyglot group of children of different nationalities and different religions to show each of them something, first, about themselves and then about their friends so that I do believe that we must have some attention paid to this right now.

No country is being as much psychoanalyzed as Americans both as individuals and as the Nation, and the big parlor game is, what is happening, what is going wrong.

I think the thing that is happening is that we just haven't faced up to the fact that we are a nation of very different people. The fact that

we happen to be born on a piece of real estate known as the United States is very coincidental. It just so happens that our parents were here. But the fact that you have deep-rooted cultural values and cultural orientations which you have inherited from your predecessors is a very significant factor which I think we Americans have totally tried to ignore.

All of a sudden we are wondering what is happening to the fabric of America because we suddenly discover that we are really a nation of strangers and, while we all choke up when the Star Spangled Banner is played and love the flag and are all loyal Americans, since it is not a question of loyalty, we are really strangers to each other and know very little about each other, and I think these are the things that are now starting to manifest themselves.

If we could have some discussions, some film slides about the various kinds of people in a classroom, something about their respective backgrounds, be it within the White community or whether it is between the Blacks and the Whites or the Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, or what have you, I just feel that if people will get to know more about each other, some of the tensions, the distrust, perhaps the suspicions which are really based on ignorance might start disappearing.

That is what the whole thrust of this bill is. But the problem, the thing that disturbs me is that most of us Americans think that these problems exist only in the spectrum of White versus Black, Protestant versus Catholic, perhaps Catholic versus Jew, oriental versus white, Mexicans versus Black, because we assume that those differences, if there are differences, are within that kind of narrowly defined group when it is my judgment that this undertone exists on a much larger scale than we Americans have wanted to admit.

What would be your judgment on that?

Mr. BALZEKAS. I have to agree with you. We have a traveling section in the museum that goes to various schools and libraries and organizations to bring exhibits on Lithuania. We take what we call the representative portion of the museum, on a smaller scale of course, and bring it to the various schools and organizations. We find that people are very interested in these exhibits.

The school groups that tour our museum are amazed at what we have and that there is a culture of this type.

Every ethnic group has some culture. Sometimes in the folk fair days, heritage exhibits, there is too much emphasis on folk art of a particular country. When we have an exhibit, for instance, we try to show the cultural contributions of a given ethnic group in addition to the folk art.

We find that the ethnic interest is there, and I think the more you stress this, people who even have no ethnic background, are going to eventually assume certain facets of other ethnic backgrounds.

In other words, you take the very underprivileged child who has no ethnic background at all and is just void completely.

Mr. PUCINSKI. No one ethnic background, but I think you are referring to the people who say, "I am the Heinz 57 variety type, I am a little bit of everything." That is the people that usually say, "I just don't have any of these things because I am so intermarried and

there are so many different cultural strains flowing through me that I am not sure what I am."

I presume that that is the person you mean, the one who has no dominant influence.

Mr. BALZEKAS. That is right. So by having the opportunity to study the various cultural or ethnic groups they will like certain facets. It could be literature or music or it could be the writings of the different authors. Actually, you would be opening an entire new scope of education for all of us.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is why in all these discussions the thing that amazes me, frankly, is that we haven't done this from our earliest history. It amazes me that here we are the most unique Nation in the world. No other nation has as wide a variety of people of different cultures and different religions, and our whole effort up to now has been to deny that difference.

We all tried to say, "You are all in America now and ought to be Americans and just don't follow this particular ethos." And all of a sudden we are discovering that human beings don't behave that way. We ask what is going wrong. The thing that is going wrong in my judgment is that we have tried to restructure a human being in denying him the fact that he is a little different than anybody else instead of, as I believe the Soviet Union does, not deny that they have 16 different republics made up of 16 different cultures, 16 different people. As a matter of fact, they encourage it. I am told that they encourage a cross-fertilization of knowledge and ideas about each other.

They try to impress upon the Soviet peoples that, while they may be of different cultures and different ethnic backgrounds, different religions, different cultural values, they all belong to one mosaic called the Soviet Union.

It may be that this does bring about a lesser degree of tensions among people. I don't know. I wish I had more research on this. But I think that the ethnic studies centers probably will do some research on it. It is my feeling that as we look down range in America, we are not going to stamp this out as some have said you would. I am reminded that when we observe St. Patrick's Day, we are going to see the most fervent display of Irish nationalism, not among immigrants who have just come from Dublin, but among eighth and ninth and 12th generation Americans of Irish background.

It is interesting that when the Irish come here from Ireland they say, "We have none of this in Ireland." I always kid my Irish friends that they are the greatest nationalists in the world, and they are eighth and ninth and 12th generations removed from the old sod.

This is true of our German and French friends. The other day President Pompidou was visiting this country. We saw the banquet in New York. We saw the banquet in Chicago, and the people that were at this banquet were very proud to be there as Americans of French descent. While you would never challenge their American loyalty, you would never question their complete Americanism, the fact remains that these people did feel a kinship to the French President, and they were there to honor him and to hear his message and at least for an evening to remind themselves that in their veins flows the proud blood of many, many generations of Frenchmen.

Now, how do you account for that? I believe that a human being really never quite gives up his ethnicity. That does not mean that he is any less a loyal American. I think, if anything, these ethnic centers could prove that there is no conflict between being a very loyal American and yet being aware of our own particular ethnic background.

Would you care to comment on that?

Mr. BALZEKAS. Well, I again have to agree with you. I think it sometimes makes an American a little better American when he has an ethnic background. It is hard to describe but, just as you said, American Frenchmen experienced a little more feeling at the banquet.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Those, incidentally, were the people who peppered the White House with telegrams Sunday morning protesting the demonstrations in Chicago, and I don't blame them. I would have been disappointed if they had not done so.

Mr. BALZEKAS. I think part of the difficulty that came in the ethnic studies in the past is the fact that there has not been any place where anybody could do any research. We have one of the few places in the country, again going back to what I said before, where a person could get some information or some material on this background.

I think educational TV would encourage the ethnic studies at the centers, and I would also like to feel that you are going to have sub-centers also or what I would call minor centers because when you choose your universities and organizations, they should encourage other universities, other departments of the humanities throughout the country. I believe this program could spread through the United States.

Those universities in which their interest fall in the ethnic area would want to participate and contribute to the ethnic studies heritage bill.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think this is why we said this morning, when Mr. Wax was here, that we probably would want to incorporate some language in this bill for planning grants so that these things can be intelligently provided for. I think perhaps if we had some planning money available for universities to intelligently discuss what sorts of supportive activities there are, let's say, in the Lithuanian studies center, for example at Notre Dame University at South Bend, the University of Chicago, and Loyola University, or whoever decides to develop a center for developing material on Lithuanians, they would then, of course, want to look as to what supportive activity is there in the Lithuanian Museum of Culture and various other places.

I am very grateful to you for coming down to Washington today to add your own testimony. We are going to be talking to some of the representatives of the ethnic groups. Up to now we have talked to the academician who sees this problem from an academic standpoint. We are going to be talking to people like yourself now for a few days to see what this means to the child.

For instance, I was impressed with a number of statements made here. Take a little Jewish youngster who somehow or other because of the traditions that exist in his home seems subliminally oriented. Somehow or other he does not quite feel that he is part of America. All of a sudden he discovers that Haym Salomon was the man who helped enormously to finance the American Revolution and without

his help the effort would have failed and there wouldn't have been an America. It is really interesting what impact that discovery has on the psyche of a youngster and what it does to help him fortify himself against the complexities of the world in which he lives.

We could cite other examples I am sure in other groups. As Mr. Wax said, in the final analysis every one of us is a member of some minority group, but we don't always admit it, and we kind of fake it, and we suffer all kinds of inferiorities, maybe indignities and internal hurts, but we never quite want to admit it.

I think that before we all explode we ought to try and see if we can't introduce some courses in American education about the various Americans who make up the most polyglot nation in the world. I don't think we can deny this any longer.

That is why I was very happy to get your views on what impact this is going to have on Lithuanian youngsters, and there will be others that we will be talking to as we go along.

Thank you very much.

The committee will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock, in room 2257.

(Whereupon, at 3:30 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, March 5, 1970.)

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

THURSDAY, MARCH 5, 1970

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
GENERAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, D.C.

The general subcommittee met at 10:10 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 2257, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Roman C. Pucinski (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Pucinski, Dellenback, and Hansen.

Staff members present: John F. Jennings, majority counsel, Alexandra Kislak, clerk, and Robert Durst, minority research assistant.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The general subcommittee will come to order.

Our first witness this morning will be Dr. John Appel, of the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

We will continue our hearings this morning on H.R. 14910, the ethnic heritage studies bill.

More of our committee members will join us as we move along. There are a number of committee meetings this morning so it is rather difficult for members to be at a number of spots at one time.

Mr. Appel, you will come up to the witness stand.

We are very pleased to have here with us this morning a delegation from Macomb County, Mich., Congressman O'Hara's congressional district. We would like to tell the ladies who are here that we have a very high regard for Mr. O'Hara as a member of our committee, a member of our subcommittee. He is rapidly gaining the reputation of being one of the outstanding parliamentarians in this Congress, has made a particular study of the rules of the Congress, and many of us lean very heavily on him when very difficult questions come up on the procedural aspects of our work here in Congress.

So you ladies should be advised that your Congressman is one of the most highly respected members of this committee. I am hopeful that he is going to be with us this morning. I hope that you will understand his problem. As I said earlier we have a number of subcommittees meeting this morning and I know that he has got a very difficult assignment.

We are holding hearings today on the ethnic heritage studies centers bill to provide Federal funds to help universities develop curriculum and textbook material and film slides and other instructional material on the identifiable ethnic groups in this country, our theory being that we Americans are all proud of being Americans but we know very little about ourselves as individuals. This is because there is practically no classroom material available on the various ethnic groups, the various nationality groups in this country. We are a nation made up of many

nationalities, many religions, many races, and it is almost incredible how little time and how little information is devoted to any kind of discussion about ourselves.

For years we have heard the slogan "melting pot." People have tried to homogenize the whole Nation into one monolith and we now discover that as human beings that does not always work. Each of us is a little different from each other and if we start recognizing these differences, then perhaps we can understand ourselves better.

So the whole emphasis of this particular legislation is to help prepare study material, textbook material, film slides and whatnot, so that teachers can teach their children something about themselves and the other children in the classroom. We feel that in that way we Americans can start understanding each other better.

We are particularly concerned about the young people of this country. Many people are wondering what is happening to the young people. It seems like so many young people are aimlessly searching for some sort of identity. Some of us on this committee feel that one reason for that phenomena is that the young people grow up and go through the whole college and high school experience and really never know anything about themselves, or their background, their cultural values. We feel that each of the ethnic groups has brought some great cultural values to this country and we ought not keep them secret, we ought to share them with each other, and in that way get to know each other better and in that way strengthen the fibers of the Republic itself.

With that sort of introduction I am very pleased to have Dr. Appel here, who is testifying on the bill this morning.

Your formal statement will be incorporated in the record at this point.

(Mr. Appel's statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF JOHN APPEL, NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY,
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Your chairman invited me to report briefly how I think museums may be able to promote and encourage ethnic studies, and to add some remarks based on my experience as teacher and student of immigrant history. I am pleased to respond to this invitation, but should also like to urge your committee to invite officers of the Smithsonian Institution and perhaps of some other museums to discuss with you their organizations' capabilities and plans for implementing the sort of studies proposed under the Ethnic Heritage Centers Bill.

I am after all a college teacher, not a museum staffer. On the other hand, my appointment by the Smithsonian's Office of Academic Programs as visiting scholar specializing in immigrant history, surely reflects the Secretary's and other administrators' interest in ethnic studies as a vehicle for public understanding and a promising area for Smithsonian-sponsored research.

As I see it, the implementation of ethnic studies and the preparation of ethnically oriented exhibits present certain opportunities as well as challenges to museum staffs. The opportunities are suggested by Professor Rudolph J. Vecoli's statement before this committee (Wednesday, February 18, 1970), "The role of Ethnic Studies in a Pluralistic Society," and by an article from *The History Teacher* which I include as an appendix to this statement. (Appendix A)

First, let me say a few words about the problems posed by the inclusion of ethnic exhibits and studies in the museum, and how they have been met in a few instances.

Museums have generally been charged with collecting, restoring, safeguarding, interpreting and displaying objects and records of the past. Today, even larger numbers of visitors strain existing museum budgets at the very time when staffs are asked to expand their traditional scholarly and custodial functions into new

public service areas like the performing arts, surveys of environmental pollution and drug addiction, and ethnic studies.

In some cases, museums and historical societies with substantial buildings and budgets have been able to incorporate these new dimensions into existing and newly created programs and exhibits. Among examples of ethnically oriented activities known to me are in-service training courses for New York City school teachers presented jointly by the New York City Board of Education, the American Jewish Historical Society, and various New York City colleges and universities. Teachers receive credits for attending these lectures and seminars and are encouraged to incorporate what they learn into their lesson plans. The New York State Historical Association at its Cooperstown Farmer's Museum likewise offers week-long Summer Adult Education American Studies seminars which may be attended by New York State teachers for service-credit. Several seminars have been devoted to explorations of topics in ethnic history, and a few years ago Milo V. Stewart and David Robinson of the Association's Education Office assisted in the preparation of a teaching unit dealing with "Migration and the City Experience, 1890-1914" which included the preparation of 318 2x2 slides selected to illuminate the migration to urban areas during this period. Both seminars are described in my testimony. (Appendix B)

The Smithsonian Institution's annual Festivals of Folklife, conducted since 1967 by Mr. Ralph C. Rinzler (which in 1970 will include American Plains Indian arts and crafts); "multi-media" exhibits like the Jewish Museum's "Portal to America: the Lower East Side" and the Metropolitan Museum's "Harlem on my Mind" show, provide additional examples of what museums have already contributed to the carrying out of purposes envisioned by H. R. 14910.

Unlike traditional museum exhibits, the kind which have earned the Smithsonian Institution the honored title of Nation's Attic, ethnically oriented exhibits often require unorthodox long range planning cutting across time-and-profession-honored curatorial specialties and convictions as to what museums are, and are not, meant to do. Since few immigrants except those quite untypical of the mass of 19th century migrants imported much furniture or other museum-worthy objects, an "ethnic" show calls for the construction of new exhibits (maps showing the ecology of cities, photographs and sound recordings, charts, graphs, translations, blow ups, reconstructions of buildings or rooms), the use of expensive equipment, and of course sizeable amounts of money for experimental, that is untried, formats and ideas. In short, the very kinds of funds needed are those which public bodies are reluctant to use for experimentation in the social sciences and humanities because the result of such experimentation is unpredictable: the public may approve or criticize, or ask whether a museum is not forgetting its primary role of preserving objects. But just as man didn't reach the moon without false starts, experimenters in ethnic studies and exhibits ought to be given a chance to make mistakes and to learn from them.

Let me turn now to another problem raised by the goals of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill—that of obtaining the necessary cooperation for shaping and improving curriculum content between university and high school staffs. I think we can all agree that we cannot ask already harrassed public school staffs merely to incorporate new materials, however relevant we think they are, into already bulging course outlines.

A few examples of what is being done in this way, or might be done, ought to be useful for this committee. I have already mentioned an article from the January 1970 *History Teacher*. It was written by Mr. Philip Rosen, who teaches American history at Northeast High School in Philadelphia, and is at present studying at Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh. He has surveyed the treatment of immigration in representative high school texts, and concludes that the subject as now presented is "badly in need of correction." I believe a similar conclusion might be drawn about many museum exhibits dealing with migration, though often I'd say that the mass migration of the 19th century is simply not given the emphasis I think it deserves. For instance, in and within a three hundred mile radius of Washington, D.C., it is possible to see many superbly preserved, mounted and interpreted specimens of our colonial past. But as far as I know, not a single major permanent exhibit is devoted to the sociological and historical interpretation of migration to the city, its effects on migrants and original settlers, the resultant tensions and problems, and their consequences for American life today. To be sure, the Smithsonian's Museum of History and Technology plans to deal with this subject in a future exhibit, but one might

well ask whether this state of affairs does not reveal the kind of priorities we have all taken for granted—and which perhaps should be re-examined. There can be no question that our history texts have been color-blind for too long. Now that Black is being added to the story, should we not also ask whether our texts—and exhibits—have been Anglo-Saxon, form centered, to the unwarranted neglect of other ethnic and urban groups?

Let me get back for a moment to Mr. Rosen's survey of the treatment of immigrant history in high school texts. In his "Pointers for Teachers of American Immigration" he supplies a timely "checklist of correctives and reminders" for those interested in emphasizing ethnic and immigrant history in the interpretation of the American past.

As part of his work for an advanced degree he is preparing a six week unit on Irish and Italian immigrants in America, including pictures, cartoons and portions of original documents, in which (he tells me) the Philadelphia school system is interested. About five weeks' work will be devoted to the historical background; one week's readings will explore what it is like to be an American of Irish and Italian descent in Philadelphia today.

It seems to me that this kind of work, being done at Carnegie-Mellon University under the direction of Professors Edwin Fenton, John Haas and others, provides models for the kind of cooperative curriculum planning between the public school and the university which must take place if the goals of H.R. 14910 are to be reached.

A few additional examples may be useful. Professors John Messenger, Leo Solt and others at Indiana University's Institute of Folklore Studies are preparing students to study and teach the folk heritage of Irish, Jews, Italians, Slavs and other groups. These studies have already given us bodies of song, story and legend for the older groups who settled the American land. We are discovering that the later comers who moved to the cities also left a folklore which can help to enrich ethnic studies and introduce a comparative dimension into what could degenerate into filiopietistic, ethnocentric exercises.

Three years ago, Michigan State University opened a social-science-oriented, semi-independent, experimental undergraduate college known as Madison College. Its students, a few of whom are doing their required field work this year in Washington, may major in Ethnic Intergroup Relations. As part of this major, they study the history of the city, of American immigration, and the Negro. Those who desire to become public high school teachers have been able to fulfill requirements for their major in ethnic study at Madison College while earning a Michigan social studies teacher certificate in other departments of the university. Liaison between Madison College and the university and state agencies concerned with teacher certification has been handled by Professor Abner Baker, a member of the Madison College faculty.

In addition, Michigan State University's University College, charged with offering general courses for freshmen and sophomores, has recently begun to provide some students with an alternative track in Ethnic History in place of the normally required American Thought and Language course. Materials for such courses are now fairly easy to obtain. Reprinting of long out of print books allows even brand new libraries to acquire books relating to immigration. There are a number of specialized journals in the field. Ethnic and immigrant periodicals and newspapers, many of them deteriorating in storerooms, should be microfilmed to give many more students and teachers access to these important records. I am adding a proposal for their collection, microfilming and distribution, sponsored by the Immigration History Group and the Chicago Center for Research Libraries, to this statement. (Please see appendix C.)

An example of the newer kind of approach to ethnic studies is the film and booklet unit, *Immigration to the United States, 1870-1914*, prepared by Professor Maxine S. Seller of Bucks County Community College, Newton, Pennsylvania, for the American Historical Association's Feature Films Projects. Lastly, and rather vaguely, since my files are at my home in East Lansing, Michigan, I recall receiving a letter from someone in the Chicago, Illinois, public school system inquiring about materials and suggestions for offering a course on immigrant history, I think particularly Polish-Americans, in the city's junior college program.

If I have so far enthusiastically pointed out opportunities for implementing the goals of the Ethnic Heritage Centers Bill, let me shift now to a more sober note. My study of immigrant and ethnic historical societies suggests that it will not be easy to find the right combination of university level scholarship and

support from various existing ethnic, immigrant and nationality organizations and institutions. Perhaps a series of meetings preceded by active exchange of opinions from officers of such associations, high school, college and university faculties, labor organization and museum staffs, would be useful. The difficulties, though real, need not be insurmountable. If they are overcome, perhaps the sub-national loyalties and differences which so often have been sources of friction among our populations, can serve also as a kind of elastic cultural bond in what seems to be an emergent pluralistic society.

Who can tell whether ethnic competitiveness cannot be channelled into culturally acceptable channels? Competition for supporting scholarships and comparative history projects, study-abroad centers, and institutions for the intensive study and cultivation of ethnic traditions is certainly a more worthwhile contest than ethnic soccer matches, tavern brawls, and secretly worked out quotas for political appointees. It will not be easy, but it seems worth a try.

After this daring flight of optimistic forecasting, let me return to reality before I close. I hope that members of Congress will remember that reductions in the Fulbright exchange program and lack of funds for the already approved international exchange program to assist curricular innovation are *not* reassuring for those who support the aims of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill.

No ethnic studies program can achieve desirable aims if there are no provisions for study, research and teaching abroad—the kind of activities curtailed through recent actions of the Congress. I am convinced ethnic history ought to be studied in a world perspective to prevent, on the one hand, a narrow, chauvinistic, ethnocentric emphasis; and, on the other hand, an equally unacceptable, revisionist, vindictively anti-American interpretation of its subject matter. Both extremes can, and do, turn up in ethnic studies, as many of us have learned. Ethnic history is never *bland* history. At its core are considerations of the transit of culture, migration, nationalism, religion and race. It is best to see these forces in comparative perspective. Their presentation in classrooms where youths from different ethnic, racial and religious backgrounds study together calls for mature, well prepared teachers, ideologies of neither the right nor left, who can deal fairly and competently with controversial matters. We cannot have such teachers in required numbers if Fulbright programs and other exchange programs now regarded as expendable by Congress are discontinued.

To sum up: ethnic history which confines its scope to "image building" and a group's so-called "positive" contributions is shoddy history. It misleads young and old about the past by encouraging them to underestimate the difficulties inherent in a multi-ethnic society striving for mutual adjustment. Everywhere in the world, old prejudices and barely examined ethnocentrisms and animosities slow up progress towards a better social order. We ought not to fool ourselves by glossing over the tensions between immigrants and natives, between immigrant heritage and modern technology, between immigrant fathers and sons, or among various ethnic, racial and religious groups. Likewise, it will not be easy to work out balanced, sequential curricula for high school and college which include the story of immigration, ethnic cooperation and tensions, positive and negative contributions to the common culture. But that the job is worth doing, and worth the money and effort it would take, I do not doubt.

APPENDIX A.—POINTERS FOR TEACHERS OF AMERICAN IMMIGRATION

(By Philip Rosen)

(The author teaches American history at Northeast High School in Philadelphia and conducts transfer seminars at Clark University's NDEA Summer Institute in Advanced American History in Worcester, Massachusetts.)

From the latest scholarly works, the author has gleaned a checklist of timely correctives and reminders for teachers of American immigration history.

Too many American history textbooks give a one-sided view of immigration, suggesting that the history of America was determined by old American stock. All immigrants, by implication, came to this country only after the Colonial and Settlement periods. They are given only token treatment, generally sandwiched in between the railroad and canal building era and the Gilded Age.

Much is made in the textbooks of the alleged differences between the alleged differences between the "old" (from northwestern Europe before the 1880's) and the "new" (from southern and eastern Europe after the 1880's) immigration.

The "old" immigrant's adjustment is pictured as rapid, thanks to dispersion and assimilation, while the manifold problems of the "new" immigrant are emphasized. This newcomer—competing with the natives for jobs and willing to accept lower wages and living conditions—is accused of lowering American living standards. Rather than conveniently dispersing as earlier immigrants had done, they are described as huddling in crowded, unsanitary unwholesome urban ghettos, perpetuating old-world customs and insisting on living the life of transplants. The emigration of these newcomers is nearly always said to have been prompted by persecution, intolerable governments, and poor living standards in the mother country. The immigration policies of the U.S.A. are pictured as permissive, indeed, generous, in the face of waves of foreign refuse flocking to our golden doors. Belatedly, restrictive legislation is passed in response to the demands of Americans suffering from this mass migration.

The textbook picture is rounded out by crediting immigrants with great social mobility. A list of notables and their contributions is presented. The immigrant is finally wholly Americanized, losing his ethnic and national identity and blending into our Anglo-American traditions. Traces of the cultures of the "new" Americans are to be found, but these are relatively insignificant.

Much is being done to correct what we know and teach about the Negro in America. The historical representation of other immigrant groups is also badly in need of correction. Much research is being devoted to this area, and a number of extrapolations from historical scholarship can be made. In this brief essay, we would like to suggest a few of these:

*Immigration should be treated as a continuous process persisting throughout American history. As Franklin Roosevelt noted, we are all immigrants. The Anglo-Saxon Protestants are an ethnic group just as much as the Chinese, thus the immigrants' story begins with Jamestown and Plymouth. Immigration as a factor in American history can be noted in every epoch.

*Beginning with the early settlements, America was made up of diverse groups, and examples of cooperation and conflict among ethnic minorities abound. Racist assumptions toward the Negro and Indian were manifest in our early history.

*New immigration (from southern and eastern Europe after 1880's) should be treated as sympathetically as the old (northwestern Europe before 1880's). The differences between the two groups have been overstated. They were very much alike in their reasons for coming and their ability to adapt to American conditions. The mistake is often made that "old" immigrants brought skills while the "new" did not. There were certainly skilled and unskilled in both. The "old" immigrants had certain advantages: an abundance of land, a chance to start in an egalitarian society without a crystallized class and status structure. The "new" immigrants entered America at a time of rapid industrialization and urbanization, moving into existing class-stratified societies where they had to occupy the lowest rung.

*Internal factors on this continent as well as European conditions were responsible for much migration from Europe. America needed and recruited the labor, skills, brains and other talents of the immigrant. The return America received for opening her doors far outweighed the problems she imported.

THE HISTORY TEACHER

*Segregation was partially voluntary and partially a response to native reaction. Segregation temporarily met the immigrant's need for a sense of self-respect, for expressing his accustomed mode of life.

All ethnic groups (not just southern and eastern Europeans) since early colonial times have attempted to reconstruct communities that were replicas of the old-world societies from which they emerged. They never quite succeeded in doing so, for no cultural system can be transplanted without change. Acculturation of the group was rapid; by the second generation attention was directed almost exclusively toward American events and standards while interest in the old-world culture became minimal. However, such acculturation was most often not followed by social assimilation. Ethnic members still seek each other out for intimate, neighborhood and social-institutional relationships. How persistently ethnic identification continues to the third and fourth generation is debated among scholars. Some say ethnic ties are blurring into religious identification, while others claim ethnic consciousness has not diminished.

*The urban ghetto had a positive as well as a negative side. The ethnic institutions contained therein deserve a sympathetic treatment. They played an im-

portant role in servicing the newcomer politically, culturally, socially, and economically, acting as a great force for acculturation. On the negative side, the drastic social consequences of living under such conditions—poor sanitation, contagion, physical deterioration of facilities, and psychological deterioration of inhabitants—need to be examined.

*The social consequences of discrimination need to be illustrated. They include poverty, successive use of slums by various ethnic groups, occupational and business patterns such as employment in menial, undesirable occupations, exploitation by "middlemen" belonging to the minority's ethnic group as well as exploitation by dominants.

*The school was a major factor in the acculturation of the native-born children of the immigrant. However, unknowingly it tended to depreciate or ignore the cultural heritage of the children of immigrants. The very models they presented of American life were alien to these children and contributed to their feeling of inferiority. This tended to produce conflicts between the generations.

*Although the newcomers at first retarded unionism, they later played an important role in the American labor movement. Trade unions in general saw immigration as a threat and urged restriction; however, they did much to help the newcomer adapt to American conditions and improve his status here. The immigrants themselves organized trade unions which significantly improved the conditions of the working class.

*The assumptions that immigration contributed to depressions, depressed wage scales, and adversely displaced the native worker have been seriously challenged by historians. They find that, conversely, the coming of the immigrant broadened the range of opportunities at the top of the occupational ladder, actually lifting the earlier labor force to higher job levels.

*Political and economic developments in American society were crucial to the improvement of the status of ethnic groups, promoting their entrance into the mainstream of American life. This entrance was slow and painful with certain groups, often taking as long as three to four generations. The recognition of the different experiences in acculturation, acceptance, and success in America is important. The study of the factors that made for this success holds a lesson for depressed minorities today.

*While the political machine operated on the basis of patronage and personal favors, it was more meaningful and helpful to the immigrant than the impersonal abstract government advocated by municipal reformers.

*The lower civil service jobs in the cities became a channel for the establishment of immigrants and their children. The lower ranks of the police and fire departments as well as the post office were filled from the new groups.

*Ethnic voting aided in the establishment of immigrant groups and set patterns which exist to this day. Foreign policy issues galvanized even the third and fourth generations. The votes of the foreign stock were instrumental in the elections of Franklin Roosevelt, the victories of the Democratic party, and the passage of liberal welfare measures.

*The struggle against intolerance and discrimination by various ethnic groups has led to the broadening of democracy beneficial to all Americans.

*Derogatory accusations against immigrants have persisted throughout our history. Very often the same adjectives are used despite the difference in time and group. The accomplishments and acculturation of the ethnic groups have proven the nativists wrong. Ethnic groups who themselves have experienced bigotry exhibit intolerant behavior.

*The racist character of restrictive immigration laws should be examined for their unscientific assumptions. These laws should be contrasted with our Immigration Act of 1965. The social consequences of these restrictive laws should be examined, particularly the Act of 1924 which had drastic international implications, i.e., its effect on Japanese and those seeking to escape Nazi terror.

*A thought so well expressed by Michael Parenti should be emphasized to high school students. "A pluralistic society, after all, could not really exist without pluralistic substructures and identities. Ethnic groups can thus sometimes behave politically as ethnic groups while remaining firmly American. It may be said that minorities have injected a new meaning into a national motto originally addressed to the fusion of thirteen separate states: *e pluribus unum*, a supreme allegiance to and political participation in the commonality of the Union, with the reserved right to remain distinct, unassimilated entities in certain limited cultural and identificational respects."

SUGGESTED READINGS

Maldwyn A. Jones, *American Immigration* (University of Chicago Press, 1960), deals with most of the points made in this paper. It particularly attacks myths concerning old and new immigration, as does Oscar Handlin in his *Race and Nationality in American Life* (Doubleday, 1957). The former is easier to read, while the latter, particularly in Chapter 5, has excellent charts and statistics. The best short one-volume paperback for the average high school reader is J. Joseph Huthmacher's *A Nation of Newcomers* (Dell, 1967). This book discusses all the ethnic minorities in the United States, focusing on the social consequences of discrimination.

For the persistence of ethnic identification in America the popularly written *The Future of American Politics* (Anchor, 1956) is worth reading, particularly for understanding the role of ethnic groups in politics. Will Herberg's *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (Anchor, 1960) is difficult reading, but his thesis of the blurring of ethnic identity into religious identity is worth examining.

Racism has been a persistent factor throughout American history. It was implicit in our immigration laws. The booklet by Edmund Traverso, *Immigration: A Study in American Values* (D. C. Heath, New Dimensions, 1964) is carefully structured for critical thinking on this issue. So is the unit entitled, "Immigration: Should the Golden Door be Closed," from Bernard Feder's *Viewpoints U.S.A.* (American Book Company, 1967). Separate units are available in paperback form. The tragic consequences for Jews resulting from the immigration laws of the 1920's are explored in Arthur Morse's *While Six Million Died* (Ace 1968). A chapter was serialized in *Look* magazine November, 1967 entitled "Voyage to Doom." For readings in discrimination against Orientals, read Allan R. Bosworth's *America's Concentration Camps* (Bantam, 1967); *People in Motion: The Postwar Adjustment of the Evacuated Japanese* (United States Department of Interior Publication); and William Peterson, "Success Story: Japanese-American Style," *New York Times Magazine*, January 9, 1966. American nativism is critically analyzed in Seymour J. Mandelbaum's *The Social Setting of Intolerance*, Unit 1, "The Know-Nothing" (Scott Foresman Problems in American History Series, 1964). Chapter 3 of John Highan's *Strangers in the Land* (Atheneum, 1967) is an excellent selection although rather difficult reading on American nativism, 1860-1925.

For an excellent comparison of the problems of the Negro and Puerto Ricans with that of other ethnic groups, read Oscar Handlin's *The Newcomers* (Anchor, 1962). Handlin's *The Uprooted* (Universal Library, 1969) is one of his easier reading books dealing with the adjustment of immigrants to American life. Included are excellent descriptions of the school, the ghetto and the political machine as acculturating agents.

APPENDIX B.—ETHNIC LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1870-1930: A PICTORIAL RECORD

Maggie and Jiggs and the Katzenjammer Kids are recognized by millions. Before there were syndicated newspaper comics, however, funny Irishmen, Dutchmen, Jews, and Negroes peopled American stages, dime novels, and humorous weeklies. Their chief purpose was to entertain, perhaps to sort out individuals in a heterogeneous society. They also reinforced and mirrored popular notions about aliens, Negroes, and immigrants. They undoubtedly supported "scientific" theories concerning racial, religious, and ethnic qualities or inferiority. Dr. John J. Appel of Michigan State University will use slides of national stereotypes, political and social caricature showing American attitudes toward race, religion, ethnic backgrounds, and social issues from the Gilded Age to the 1930's. As a counterpoint to these colorful images, many from weeklies like *Puck* and *Judge*, Seminararians will examine scenes of ethnic and immigrant group life as recorded by the cameras of pioneer urban reformers and investigators.

SPINNING WORKSHOP—Mrs. Virginia Parslow Partridge, Assistant Curator, The Farmers' Museum, and members of the demonstration staff will teach the processing of flax and the spinning of yarn to a limited registration group of the first eight applicants. There will be a minimum of lectures, a maximum of demonstration and practice. Any registrant who possesses a workable spinning wheel is encouraged to bring and use it. The workshop will be repeated during the second week (see page 18).

HOW I SAW THE CITY . . .

New York City, in the two and a half decades between 1890 and World War I, received thousands upon thousands of newcomers. Many came from Europe, some from rural areas of the United States. A few recorded their reactions and experiences to a life which, for the most part, was far different than the one they left.

Here are five excerpts from the autobiographies of migrants to New York City which give a different perspective on the common experiences of migrating to the city. The excerpts are intended as illustrative sample materials. A short biographical summary precedes each excerpt.

SLIDE CATALOG—"MIGRATION AND THE CITY EXPERIENCE 1890-1914"

The catalog which follows lists 318 2x3 black and white slides carefully selected to illuminate a study of migration to urban areas during the period 1890-1914. While this collection of pictorial materials was initially brought together to support one of the units in the 7th grade social studies curriculum in New York State, it has very direct application to studies of immigration and in-migration to the city in American history and sociology courses at virtually any grade level, including college.

It is important to note that each of the slides listed in this catalog was derived directly from original, primary materials of the period; materials such as photographs, stereographs, and drawings. The illustrations deal not only with European immigration at the turn of the century but also with White and Negro in-migration at the same time. The slide materials are organized around the following themes: Home As the Migrant Remembers It; The Journey to the City; The Arrival and First Impressions; and The Neighborhood. Within each of these themes such topics as the family, common institutions, work, recreation, education, religion and belief, transportation, festivals, and spatial and time patterns are dealt with. Future additions to the catalog will include slides on how the migrant adjusted to and became a part of, city life as well as an expansion of materials on White and Negro in-migration.

Each slide is numbered (A-38, MC-190, MC-188, and so on) and captioned. Captions given in quotations are exactly as they appeared on the original materials from which the illustrations were drawn. Where no captions appeared on the originals, the slides have been given captions and these are enclosed in parentheses. Also in parentheses at the end of each slide's description will be found a series of coded letters (GEH-LH) for example. These indicate the source of the picture, the type of illustration or photographer. The attached sheet explains the coding system used. An asterisk preceding the slide number indicates that the slide is used more than once in the set.

The New York State Historical Association is greatly indebted to a number of its sister institutions for their cooperation in making materials from their collections available. These institutions include: George Eastman House, Rochester; Museum of the City of New York; The New-York Historical Society, New York; and Brown Brothers, New York. Without their help and encouragement this slide series could not have been developed.

APPENDIX C.—THE ETHNIC RECORDS MICROFORM PROJECT FOR COOPERATIVE ACQUISITION AND ACCESS TO RESOURCES FOR RESEARCH

A. INTRODUCTION

It is evident that research libraries increasingly require access to the historical records of the great immigrations to the United States of America from Europe. It is equally evident that such broad coverage is very expensive for an individual library to maintain, especially since many of the titles that need to be provided are likely to be subject to very limited amounts of use in any one library.

The deterioration of the paper upon which many scholarly resources are written or printed endangers the future of research in this field of study. In accessibility of certain collections and the disappearance or destruction of others will also affect the work scholars are able to do.

As an answer to these problems the Immigration History Group and The Center for Research Libraries propose the creation and maintenance, for the common use of the subscribing libraries, of a readily accessible collection of

newspapers and other periodicals. The collection will be formed and maintained as a cooperative enterprise through subscriptions which will entitle the subscribing institutions and organizations to borrow microfilms from the pool for their use locally.

B. ORGANIZATION

1. The project will be administered by The Center for Research Libraries, which will bill and receive the subscription fees. From the fees received it will acquire the films, house them, circulate them to the subscribing libraries in accordance with the policies outlined below, and pay all other expenses of the project.

2. The Ethnic Records Microform Project Committee will advise the Center with respect to the policies and procedures of the project. This committee will be initially appointed by the Executive Committee of the Immigration History Group from persons related to interested institutions and organizations. After the first year this Committee will be made up of representatives of subscribers to the project. A balance will be maintained between libraries, bibliographers and scholars. The director of The Center for Research Libraries shall be a member of the Committee ex officio.

3. Selection of the titles to be acquired by the project will be made by a subcommittee appointed for each language unit by the Ethnic Records Microform Project Committee.

C. BENEFITS AND PRIVILEGES

1. Any library or non-profit organization may become a subscriber by paying the appropriate annual subscription fee. It is expected that historical societies and ethnic associations will express their interest in preserving the records of their heritage by joining ERMP on the same basis as universities and public libraries. Such groups can make unique contributions as they provide important research materials to be filmed and as they may secure financial support for preserving resources in which they are especially interested.

2. The annual subscription will give to the subscribing institution in the United States and Canada the right to borrow from the pool any positive microfilm acquired by the project for the year, or years, for which the subscription has been paid. The annual subscription will give to the subscribing institution outside the United States and Canada the right to buy at cost a positive microfilm from project controlled negatives. (Under appropriate circumstances such subscribers may borrow a project positive by paying air postage both ways on such borrowed film.)

3. A subscriber may drop out of the plan at the end of any year, simply by giving written notice of its intention to withdraw by 15 March of the subscription year. For as long as the plan shall be in effect, such a subscriber *shall retain* the privileges of borrowing from the pool, on the same terms as may apply to paid-up subscribers, all microfilm acquired during the member's subscription period.

4. A subscriber will also have the privilege of purchasing for its own use, at the cost of printing, a positive microfilm copy from any negative acquired by the project.

5. The project will issue regularly to all subscribers a list of the titles acquired by the project.

6. The borrowing institution will pay all transportation and insurance charges on materials borrowed and will reimburse the project for any damage or loss of film that occurs while the film is in the subscriber's custody. The amount of film to be borrowed by any one institution at one time may be any reasonable quantity and loan periods shall be for any reasonable time. In case of simultaneous request for the same microfilm from two participating institutions, preference shall be given to the full-rate subscriber over a reduced-rate subscriber for the longest period of time. The loan period in such conflicts shall be limited to two weeks to insure prompt access for the second institution.

D. MATERIALS TO BE MICROFILMED

1. Newspapers and other periodicals shall be selected for filming by the subcommittee created by the ERMP Committee for each language unit. Suggestions will be welcomed for consideration by the Committee.

2. The amount of filming to be done each year will be determined by the number of subscribers. For example, the experience of the Center for Immigra-

tion Studies seems to indicate that if there are ten subscribers at a hypothetical fee of \$200.00 each, this would support the filming of forty years of the back files of each of two newspapers.

E. SUBSCRIPTION FEES

1. To become a member of the project an institution shall pay an annual subscription fee. The fee shall become due and payable in full on July 1st of the subscription year. The subscription year shall run from July 1st of each year to June 30th of the following year.

2. The subscription fee shall be \$200.00 per year for each language unit and institutions may subscribe to language units individually. For subscribers outside of North America, who will have the right to buy positive microfilm at cost but not to borrow film, the subscription fee will be \$135.00 per year—the reduced fee reflecting the fact that this does not include the cost of the loan positive microfilm.

3. After the first year the subscription fee may be changed for any language unit upon recommendation of the Committee and approval by the subscribers.

4. Payment of the subscription fee entitles a subscriber to privileges only in the language unit for which the fee is paid

5. An institution, wishing to join, or rejoin, the project at any time after the first year of operation may do so at the subscription rate then in effect. However, if the new subscriber wishes to borrow microfilm acquired for prior years, or acquire at cost positive copies of films for prior years when the subscriber was not a participant, subscription fees, as follows, shall be paid:

For the first additional prior year, 100% of the subscription paid by members.

For the second additional prior year, 100% of the subscription paid by members.

For the third additional prior year, 90% of the subscription paid by members.

For the fourth additional prior year, 75% of the subscription paid by members.

For the fifth additional prior year, 50% of the subscription paid by members.

For the sixth additional prior year, 25% of the subscription paid by members.

For the seventh and each additional prior year, 10% of the subscription paid by members.

The new subscriber may elect to pay these subscription fees for the use of the prior accumulation in annual installments over three years.

F. ACCESS TO PROJECT MICROFILMS BY NONMEMBERS

1. Positive microfilms acquired by the project will not be lent to non-subscribers may not borrow such microfilms on behalf of non-subscribing libraries. However, nothing shall prevent a subscriber from borrowing such microfilm for use in the subscriber's library by a visiting scholar from a non-subscribing institution.

2. Non-subscribers may purchase a positive microfilm print for their own use from any negative owned and controlled by the project for the cost of the print plus one-third the negative cost. Additional income to the project from such sales will be used to increase the scope of the project.

G. OWNERSHIP AND PROJECT TERMINATION

1. The assets of the project shall be the property of The Center for Research Libraries with the understanding that subscribers to the project shall always have the right to borrow from the Center any positive microfilm acquired by the project and to buy their own positive print from any negative owned and controlled by the project for only the cost of making the positive print.

2. In the event of termination of the project, subscribers to the project shall continue to have the same right of access as above to all microfilms acquired by the project during its existence.

STATEMENT OF JOHN APPEL, NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Mr. PUCINSKI. Perhaps you would either like to summarize your statement or proceed in any manner you wish but I do hope that you

leave some time for questions because I have a number of questions I would like to ask you about this bill.

Doctor, why don't you just proceed.

Mr. APPEL. As far as I am concerned, if it is your pleasure simply to start with questions, I don't have to hear my own statement.

Mr. PUCINSKI. If you were to summarize it briefly so we get some idea.

Mr. APPEL. Let me just say that I am not speaking for the Smithsonian, but I have had the opportunity to spend a year there. My experience has been as a teacher in the classroom preparing youngsters to be college students, but many of them are prospective high school teachers, junior high school teachers. As I see it, the museum—and I mean by that not only the Smithsonian but museums like it—have certain opportunities and they also find ethnic studies a real challenge. It has been rather interesting for me to see what these challenges are, or we call them problems. Mr. Balzekas, who has already testified I think, has mentioned the opportunities and I have incorporated an article by a Philadelphia high school teacher, Mr. Rosen, in the testimony which sets out some of the specifics that teachers should be aware of who plan to teach this material.

It seems to me that we should be aware that museums in particular are being asked today to do many things that they have not done before; ethnic studies is just one. They are asked to deal with the environment, and so on, which makes a good many curators uneasy; it is not the sort of thing they have been doing. Nevertheless, from a practical point of view I think they should be involved, because after all they do teach the public in many ways, which we in the college could never hope to do.

It seems to me that the ethnic historical societies or religious or whatever their title may say also have an opportunity. I have mentioned the in-service training courses that the American Jewish Historical Society conducts in New York City. There are other societies. For instance, I recall getting a letter from the board of education in Chicago asking me what I thought they could do to institute courses in Polish-American history in the junior colleges. I could not give them specific directions but if I had had a chance I would say certainly involve the Polish-American societies.

I would like to call your attention to the on-going program of the New York State Historical Association at Cooperstown, summer courses which are again attended by teachers from all over the State for in-service credit and which have dealt at least two or three times with ethnic topics. I, myself, gave a course there. They have developed a slide collection which is not as widely known as it should be. The Smithsonian, of course, has the Festival of Folk Life, the exhibits by the New York Museums like the Metropolitan, on Harlem and the Jewish Museum on the lower East Side are the kinds of things, it seems to me, that could be done successfully in other areas for Mexican-Americans in the Southwest, for Polish-Lithuanian-Americans in the regions where they are strongly represented.

This means that museums have to think along different lines because the traditional museum exhibit means that you take a valuable table or a valuable picture because if they were not valuable they were usually thrown away. The Massachusetts immigrants brought some

underwear in a suitcase and a picture of grandfather, and they are not museum-worthy objects; anyway, they have been lost. So what does it mean? It means that the museum has to think in new ways; it has to develop exhibits that are composites, that have to be reconstructed as it is, that we have to do blowups of the city and show where these groups lived and perhaps even deal with pictorial materials which are not the kind of thing that a museum curator has traditionally inherited as it were.

It can be done, we know. That it also creates controversy is inevitable. Some group will say, "You did not do this the way I would have done it." So we should not fool ourselves that whenever we move into an area of history which is relevant we at once also touch the controversial.

I am all for that but a good many people, of course, would prefer to discuss Washington's crossing the Delaware, because while everyone knows about that, that is not very controversial; he got to the other side and he got successfully back. We can not always say that when we deal with so-called contributions, for instance, of a group.

To give you one example, if we speak of the unquestioned contribution of Italians to the musical tastes of this country, do we also include the Mafia as one of their contributions to crime style? When you say that you are going to get some letters from constituents or even a telephone call from a pupil's mother who says, "That is not what we had in mind." But it has been my feeling that if you teach history merely to build morale, in the long run you are going to disappoint everyone because you overlook the real difficulties that everywhere in the world inhibit progress, and that is old eccentric notions and feelings of superiority and the question of race and religion comes in.

I would not want to say to anyone this will be easy. I would not want to say to any public school people, "Now do what you have not done," because as Representative Pucinski has said, the materials are just now being developed and then needs another look at our school books, and this is the way it should be. But it is not going to be a simple job and this means that the universities who offer the kind of training that they are best qualified to offer will have to take an active interest in how it is going to be done in the classroom. It won't do merely to offer new courses and then say to the public school teacher, "Now go and apply this." I think we have to take responsibility. I think in a few places this responsibility is being taken. This is why I ask to have included in my testimony reference to the work being done at Carnegie-Mellon University and at Michigan State University. But more needs to be done of this kind. If money is available, I think it should be made very clear to those who are eager to participate that what counts is how you apply these lessons, how you teach them, not merely to write another text.

I think I am doing some of the kind of work here under the auspices of the Smithsonian that I have in mind. The American Historical Association, the oldest and the most respected professional organizations, in its film clip project has included one unit on immigration. That is another example of the kind of thing that can be done.

Also, folklore, which has not traditionally been thought of as history should be included here. There is some work being done at Indiana University. So it seems to me that we are making progress. The real question is how do we measure in the years that are already turning? How do we prevent this from being merely philopitistic history, the kind of thing that in a few places has created as many problems as opportunities when black studies which belong in the curriculum have been introduced and some people have seen this as a way of propagandizing and sometimes that is admitted even attacking American traditions which it seems to me should be critically examined but not thrown out the window, because something new is coming in.

As I see it, this is an opportunity to take advantage of the windows opened by the introduction of Black studies to examine the diversity which, as your chairman said, still exists and we know it will exist and will continue for probably a good many decades to come and to deal with these diversities realistically on the level which the high school teacher and his again very diverse constituency, the students who sit in the classroom who come from different backgrounds and who frequently have barely understood antagonism built into their heritage as well as the pride which we rightfully see there.

To ask the high school teacher to deal with that is to ask him to take on another very difficult and rather untried responsibility. For that reason, as I said, I am not here to preach the gospel of ethnic studies day and night because it seems to me it needs to be seen in perspective.

The universities and the high schools to date have not done the best possible job of taking a hard look at the curriculum to see what can be included and what should be included, and what the proportion should be. Merely to express interest in including ethnic studies after they have just told them include environmental studies, drug studies, black studies, raise the morale of the community and purify the air, I don't think that is going to help anyone.

I believe the universities should be charged if they are going to get any part of this money. Prove your case or at least sit down with the high school teachers and don't weasel out by saying "We have given you the theory, now apply it."

As I have said, there are encouraging programs of that kind going on that could be used as a kind of model.

That is my testimony.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The fact that this bill ought to have some basis for planning grants so that when a program is approved you have had a chance to look at all aspects of it and to avoid some of the pitfalls and some of the mistakes and some of the disappointments that we have experienced in other programs. So it would seem to me, if I read your statement correctly, you are suggesting here that there be some careful planning before an ethnic studies program is put together.

Mr. APPEL. Yes. Not only planning but I would hope that from the very start public school people and the universities people sit on those committees together. This can be easily done because most universities have ties with public school systems. If they are in a city, then they are the natural places to begin with.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think you made a good case urging that whatever programs are approved they don't just gloss over and provide pabulum

in studies. There are some good things and some bad things and if you are going to be intellectually honest I think you have to address yourself to both of them. I think the problem is to put them in perspective now. I don't think we have that perspective in most identifiable ethnic groups. It is amazing the factors that motivate so much of American public opinion about the various groups in this country.

I think the reason for that is that there is really very little information known about these groups. It is our hope that centers like this would go into greater depth and studies. Do you consider this possible?

Mr. APPEL. Well, let me put it this way: the materials until almost 10 years ago were really not available but they are fast becoming available because of the possibility of inexpensive or even expensive reprinting.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Even so, I notice we have had some testimony and we have had some examples of the material that is becoming available. In my opinion, it is still very superficial.

Mr. APPEL. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Now a number of years ago, 4 or 5 or 6 years ago, this subcommittee and the full committee jointly sponsored some hearings on textbook material that is available dealing with the various minority groups in this country and the ethnic groups. There was practically no significant mention of the heterogeneous nature of this country. Some of the textbook publishers at that time said they were going to try and correct this shortcoming. We have not had an opportunity to look at the progress the publishers have made but we feel that while a degree of progress has been made it is still very superficial.

Mr. APPEL. I think you are right.

Mr. PUCINSKI. In the case of the identifiable ethnic groups, there is a tendency to put all the emphasis on folklore rather than going deeper into the cultural fabric of the various peoples that make up the mosaic of America.

Mr. APPEL. One opportunity might be to actually invite universities to establish the centers—learning resources centers is perhaps one way to put it. Of course, as I mentioned in the testimony, to prepare teachers, particularly teachers of teachers, well, to do this kind of thing, they generally have to have a grasp of the old culture. Now it is easy enough, for instance, to send people to the United Kingdom, to Ireland, and we have ties with American universities and with Irish universities, but it is more difficult to do this for some groups. I talked to the Ukrainians in Detroit some time ago. Of course it is difficult for anyone to go to the Ukraine to restudy the old folk traditions. So in some cases where a Bamboo or an Iron Curtain or some kind of curtain inhibits a free flow of information, free flow of travel, it is more difficult to create these materials.

On the other hand, the technology has made it possible to build new materials unheard of even 25 years ago. I don't mean merely film strips, but TV, the multimedia sound kind of thing which could easily become the basis for such courses.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Well, I am always impressed with testimony like yours, Dr. Appel, because it raises one question in my mind, and that is why we have waited so long to get something like this moving. It seems to me like we should have been doing this a long time ago

and if we did have a greater awareness of the polyglot makeup of this country and recognize it as such, maybe we would not have many of the problems we have today. I think that it is really astounding how narrow has been the educational process over the years in trying to teach Americans something about themselves. We have talked about everything but the most important thing, and that is ourselves. What makes us up? We have talked about the philosophies and the ideologies of Government and the Nation, but as you look through the books of the average school you find almost a denial of the heterogeneous makeup of this country.

Mr. APPEL. I mentioned Mr. Rosen's article since he is a high school teacher. Since this appeared in the *History Teacher* which is published by Notre Dame University, it addresses itself to that kind of question and does provide some answers. I don't want to take the committee's time by going over it.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We are very pleased to have with us a group of people who will testify right after you, from Philadelphia, who have tried to reverse that trend, and we are very anxious to hear from them and see what experience they have had. I hope, Dr. Appel, you will be able to stay for their testimony, if time permits.

Mr. APPEL. Surely.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Dr. Jaipaul, of the American Council for Nationalities Service, has brought us a group of students and teachers and parents from Philadelphia who apparently have been trying to reverse this trend of denying the existence of negativism in the mosaic that we call America. I have said throughout these proceedings that perhaps the problem that we are experiencing in the country today is the fact that we have tried to lump everybody into one big melting pot and we are now discovering that as human beings that does not work. I think that I would rather try and go the other way and recognize that we as a nation of many different people and dedicated to the same common cause, and our cause is the uniqueness of our country. I don't think that we can really give fulfillment to that because we deny the ethnicity of our people. There is no conflict as far as I can see between a person being very proud of his ethnic heritage and still being a very proud American. I don't see any conflict, do you?

Mr. APPEL. No. I think the matter of conflict has been discussed repeatedly. Loyalty is not something that is like a slice of cake, you know, once you have something that is like a slice of cake, you know, once you have eaten it it is gone. However, we should also note assume that tensions will not arise from emphasis on ethnic backgrounds. One good example is if you had a classroom full of Americans of Arabic ancestry, which perhaps does not exist, and Americans of Jewish ancestry, when the subject of Israel comes up there are bound to be differences. This has happened when there were Irish and English children in the same classroom before Ireland had achieved its independence. It is bound to come up when we hear about riots in Belfast, Protestants, and Catholics in the same room.

I think the real opportunity is that there is no society in the world that has handled it as well as we have, despite the riots we have had, despite the tensions that you rightfully point to. It seems to me that this is the way to begin, not to shove it under the table to admit the

difficulties and at the same time to say that apparently we have done a fairly good job because we are the oldest republic and we still have to keep immigrants out, we don't have a real problem of those who depart every day by the thousands. And it seems to me that this is the way to face and then to deal with ethnic loyalties on a cultural level, and not to deny that they also invade the political realm.

This is why I say it is difficult. It is complex history because it deals with what really concerns people, not merely with the symbols of that allegiance. That is, all of us are for democracy and for motherhood and for purity, but when we get down to the real issue you realize some mothers are not as good as others to their children. Of course in the field of ethnic history some episodes are less admirable than others, but that would be my response.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You are absolutely correct.

Dr. Appel, I want to thank you very much for joining us this morning and making your contribution. I do hope that you can stay with us.

Dr. APPEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Dr. Jaipaul, come forth and tell us about your group. We are pleased to have you and the American Council for Nationalities Service here this morning. I am anxious to have your testimony.

Why don't you proceed in any manner you wish with your testimony.

STATEMENT OF DR. JAIPAUL, DIRECTOR, NATIONALITY COMMUNITY RACE RELATIONS PROGRAM, NATIONALITIES SERVICE CENTER OF PHILADELPHIA; ACCOMPANIED BY STUDENTS, TEACHERS AND PARENTS FROM PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Mr. JAIPAUL. Mr. Chairman, I will take 2 or 3 minutes to identify the goals and then introduce individually the group. This will give you an opportunity to address specific questions to specific persons.

I want to state just the goals of our two programs. The first program is a study of ethnic history at fifth grade level:

(a) Self-identification gives confidence and feeling of security and equality.

(b) An intelligent appreciation of cultural differences and a realization of the influences of the traditions which formed this country.

(c) The realization that "different" does not mean inferior.

(d) An appreciation of the contributions of the various cultures and people which make up the United States of America.

(e) For the future an intelligent attitude, both on the part of the children and parents, in dealing with all cases of differences. Greater human relations in the community.

The goals of our second program are for the 10th grade students and we have a course in comparative study of cultures.

(a) To effect a common educational experience about different cultures and sensitize the participants to the values and history of cultures other than their own;

(b) To improve intergroup understanding through learning and make education more relevant; and

(c) To establish positive channels of communication.

Now accompanying me is the complete system. Instead of bringing just the students, I thought it would be beneficial to all of us and

would be in the interest of the bill that I bring the system here rather than one component that is the students.

Accompanying me is the chairman of our National Community Race Relations program. I have four fifth graders, four parents, one principal of a public school and a representative of the participating parochial school who can tell us what the study of ethnic history as a part of American history has meant to them.

Also, I have here eight 10th-graders and three teachers to explain to us about their experiment with comparing cultures to make their education more meaningful and relevant.

Also, we have with us two representatives of the Philadelphia Board of Education who may like to tell us what it means to an educational system to develop such a program.

Accompanying us is a leader of a nationality group who is deeply involved in developing resources for the history of their own group.

Now I will identify the entire group individually.

Mr. Harvey N. Schmidt, board member of Nationalities Service Center and the chairman of our Nationality Community Race Relations program.

The fifth-graders studying ethnic history from the two schools, Abigail Vare Elementary School and Sacred Heart Elementary School, are Nancy Swanson, a fifth-grader at Vare School, and her mother, Mrs. Kay Swanson; Mrs. Swanson is not only a parent but she is also the head of the Home and School Association of the school.

Rachael Finkelstein and her mother, Mrs. Gertrude Finkelstein. In my testimony on February 17 I had narrated a story about one mother and that was about Mrs. Finkelstein.

Mr. Thomas Miller, principal of Vare School.

Carla Donch, fifth-grader at Sacred Heart School, and her mother, Mrs. Dolores Donch.

Nancy Anderson, a fifth-grader, and her mother, Mrs. Rita Anderson.

The Reverend Vito Carbone representing the Sacred Heart School as well as the Archdiocese Commission on Human Relations.

Participating in our 10th-grade program are: Barbara Douglass from William Penn; Peggy Hatton from William Penn; Wanda Pate from William Penn; Yvonne Wallace from William Penn; Mrs. Bertha Uetz, their teacher; Miss Alva Gault, head of the social studies department of William Penn; Miki Sterling, a student from Hallahan; Olivia Colon, a student from Hallahan; Mary K. Coppock, a student from Hallahan; Joan Markey, a student from Hallahan; their social studies teacher, Sister Mary Michele.

The Philadelphia Board of Education is represented by Mr. George French, director of the social studies of instructional services, and Mr. Charles Colgan, intergroup specialist, department of community affairs.

Representing the Ukrainian Women's League is Mrs. Stephanie Pushkar.

As I indicated earlier, here is an opportunity to initiate a dialog at all levels from students to a national organization.

Now, sir, it is up to you what questions you want to ask them.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I was wondering, Dr. Jaipaul, if you perhaps would like to have, in whichever order you wish there, some of the people

to come forth and just give us a brief statement of how they see the program and what it means to them. This would be very helpful. I am sure that this is unrehearsed and unprepared but I do believe that this is the best way to do it. I would be very anxious to hear from as many people as we can a brief analysis and then I would like to hear from the students because we would like to see what they think this means to them.

Perhaps the little girls way back there, if you want to come up here and hear a little better, you may do so. You can have the young ladies come up here and we can see you better, and you can hear a little better, too.

Mr. JAIPAUL. I suggest the mothers of these girls come up here and tell their experience.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Why don't you start with the principal first, and why don't we just have him and Sister tell us briefly what they are trying to achieve in their program. Would you come forth, sir.

Sister, you are the principal of the other school?

Sister MICHELE. No; a teacher.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Why don't you come forward and join us here.

**STATEMENT OF THOMAS MILLER, PRINCIPAL, ABIGAIL VARE
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL**

Mr. MILLER. My name is Thomas Miller. I am the principal of the Abigail Vare Elementary School in Philadelphia, and I would like to give you a little background as to why we were engaged in this program.

I was appointed principal in the year 1968-69 and as principal I experienced several incidents of hostilities between two schools ranging from name calling to small fights, et cetera. I contacted Sister Mary Bernard, principal at Sacred Heart School, and she was as concerned as I was and we met on several occasions to discuss what we could do about this. Also working with us was Mrs. Mary K. Laird from the city Commission on Human Relations, and we thought one way of doing it was to involve parents.

In October 1969, which is the following year, I received a phone call from Mrs. Wilhelmina Kelly, staff of the Nationalities Service Center of Philadelphia, and she asked me whether our school would be interested in pairing up with another school, Sacred Heart, in a program which would match one class with one class from Sacred Heart. I agreed to it and so did Sister Mary Bernard and this is how the program started.

Now the way it is run is that one fifth grade in our school and one fifth grade at Sacred Heart are matched together 1 day a week, on Thursday, and they study a specific ethnic group. For 3 weeks they came together meeting once a week to discuss the development of the program. The two teachers have met, the parents have been involved in it, the children have been involved in it.

Now as a result of this program I have noticed that the number of incidents between the two schools has decreased significantly. They have not decreased completely but I think there has been a significant decrease. I have noticed the difference in attitudes of the parents of

my school and the parents of the parochial school. It has been a change for the better.

There is a chance for the two schools, the parents and the children, to exchange ideas when they meet and we have involved the parents in the teaching of the program. We have asked the parents for example, of the Irish ethnic group to help us in developing this program. In this way we feel that the parents are involved in it and we feel that the children are involved in it, and it is meaningful not only between the two schools but also at home, and I think this is significant.

We feel that the children learn by doing and becoming actively involved. In preparing for these joint sessions of the two schools both groups have prepared reports, songs, dances, scripts. They have looked at films, they have viewed film strips and have also had the cooperation of the parents who worked with them.

I remember one significant remark. We had an evaluation committee meeting and when the parents were together one child said to the parents, "We have learned more because we have been able to help each other out," and I think that is significant.

Friendships have been developed and I think a strong, positive atmosphere of good will exists between the two classes and also now between the two schools. For one session of this program we went to a third school to see a program which was the contribution of a specific ethnic group.

It has become increasingly apparent that the involvement of parents as source people for information and materials is an important aspect of this program. Many parents realize that there is a large gap in their own knowledge and understanding of their own particular ethnic groups and they are learning with the children.

Fortunately, we have the support of the Nationalities Service Center in providing the parents and the teachers with information and materials. Although each school has some books and some film strips, there is a scarcity of materials and resources to use in the teaching of the ethnic backgrounds.

Dr. Jaipaul has already listed the objectives for this program and I don't want to restate them, but I feel very strongly, and we hope that parents and children will come to realize these objectives.

That is about the way it got started.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is a very exciting program that you have there. I am delighted to have had your explanation of that program.

Sister, would you like to add to that, or Father Carbone?

STATEMENT OF THE REVEREND VITO CARBONE, ARCHDIOCESE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Reverend CARBONE. I am Father Carbone. I am one of the representatives of the Archdiocese and Commission on Human Relations of Philadelphia.

The development of the program went along exactly as Mr. Miller stated. We knew that there was a program of this sort on a world cultural level, on the high school level, and we realized that something like this should be done on the grammar school level. At a rather recent meeting of the Nationalities Service Center I got in contact with a

Mrs. Wilhelmina Kelly, and asked if this program could not be put on the grammar school level somewhere along the line.

Now the city commission on human relations made the contact with Mr. Miller at Abigail Vare School and I made the contact with Sister Mary Bernard at Sacred Heart School.

One of the things that I saw which is a real asset to this program is the fact that in the area of South Philadelphia we do have, as in most urban areas, a black-white problem. In our area if you mention the problem black and white there are so many people who automatically turn a person off. We feel as if we are going in not a round-about way but really viewing the problem as it really exists, the problem of minority groups in a large country. We feel that this program is helping to alleviate our present problem but viewing it in a historical fashion, also in an ethnic historical fashion.

Now one of the major aspects of this program is exactly that, the fact that we are taking care of the present situation but also involving people in such a way whereby they are given a pride in their background. So often it is stated that America is the only place where a man can be considered educated and speak only one language, which is a rather sad thing.

Now the greatest thing that I see out of this program from my point of view of human relations is the fact that a social problem is being taken care of but at the time we are educating and acquainting people with an ethnic background and ethnic history which is certainly very much to their enrichment.

For the most part, I think it is working but I think that you will get a much better view of it when you actually hear from the parents who are involved in it and also from the actual teachers.

So for the most part our development went along exactly as Mr. Miller's, but I would like to add that I think it is a good way of actually taking care of our present situation involving so many other things which will totally enrich the person. So often when we speak of the social problem we like to look at it as it exists at the present time but our social fabric here in America is being made up of a long history. If we don't take each aspect of history as it did exist, I don't think we can possibly understand the present situation.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Sister?

**STATEMENT OF SISTER MARY MICHELE, SOCIAL STUDIES
TEACHER, HALLAHAN HIGH SCHOOL**

Sister MICHELE. Continuing from where Father has left off, on the high school level in which I am involved as a teacher in the Philadelphia area, our archdiocese and high schools are very large. The one I am teaching in has about 2,100 girls and very many ethnic groups are represented. We include world cultures as part of the curriculum in the freshman year and we have introduced World Cultures II program for grade 10 to develop a collaborative program with the public school.

Among our objectives is to have better relationship between the two school systems, public school and parochial and also to have better relationships and understandings among the various ethnic groups that are represented. Having participated in the program, knowing that it is experimental, we have developed some experience, some re-

sources and so forth. I think the testimony of some of the students will show that through a discipline, an educational system and a subject that better understanding can come about simply by knowing ethnic history and the cultural pattern and knowing that our common denominator really is our humanness.

As Father pointed out, even some of our social problems can be helped because people are becoming educated to work together no matter what his or her background is. I think from the students we will find that.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The main thrust of this legislation is to provide funds to universities and various other facilities for developing curriculums, textbook material, film slides and of course training teachers themselves. Is this a problem in this particular field that you are trying to pioneer?

Sister MICHELE. Quite definitely. I think Mrs. Uetz will say the same as the teacher from William Penn, that in training teachers—I mean this is experimental, we are dealing with four cultures that include seven countries. To have all the necessary background we came into it with a lot of good will and taught in world cultures, but even here we feel that we need even more help in this regard in the training that would be behind it.

As regards resource materials, we are working with a minimum of material and quite definitely—I think that Dr. Jaipaul has made the statement before—if a program like this is to continue, we definitely do need outside funds because there is no organization of which we know that could actually continue to fund it. I think it is a program that is very worthwhile.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We would like to hear from you two ladies who are teachers.

**STATEMENT OF MRS. BERTHA UETZ, SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHER
FROM WILLIAM PENN HIGH SCHOOL**

Mrs. UETZ. Yes. I am Bertha Uetz from William Penn High School in Philadelphia. I am here because I feel very strongly that this is what our country is really all about. It is important that the tiles and mosaics that have been blotted out as you have used the mosaic are brought back so that we really have the full, beautiful picture from all the strengths that we have to grow on.

As a social studies person, I have long been concerned about the image of the Ugly American. We have thousands of soldiers in Vietnam who call Vietnam "Nam" and South Vietnamese "gooks," for example. This gives the message loud and clear to these people that "We don't care enough to even call you by your name, let alone know anything about you." I dare say that if the boys that are there and doing that now had had training such as is being given to the students in this experimental course, we would not have that kind of thing. They would be more perceptive and would realize and appreciate the culture of these and other people.

I don't think I need to go into it. The President's Commission has pinpointed the No. 1, domestic problem in our country and in our cities. We realize that the heterogeneous ethnic groups do not communicate, there is not any real interrelationship. If we can bring this about

through programs such as this, then we learn, as I am sure one of my pupils will say, Confucius, for example, said "It is the nature of man to be alike but only their habits separate them."

I think that this program is proving this and I think you will learn that from the students.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Well, the Carnegie Commission report yesterday on equal educational opportunities in higher education made the point very strongly that by the time young people get to the post secondary educational level it is really too late to try to start teaching them any understanding of each other, particularly in terms of their ethnic differences. The Carnegie report suggests that you ought to start at the earliest level, even perhaps at the preschool level, but certainly through the elementary and secondary levels. I was very pleased to see the Carnegie report yesterday because it is as if they were reading our mind over here or reading our testimony. They were on all-fours in support of the very concept that we have been talking about here during these hearings.

What about yourself?

**STATEMENT OF MISS ALVA GAULT, HEAD OF SOCIAL STUDIES
DEPARTMENT, WILLIAM PENN HIGH SCHOOL**

Miss GAULT. I am Alva Gault, Social Studies Department at William Penn.

We are very excited about the program. We are delighted to have been chosen to be a part of the pilot project having been a part of the initial stages of this grand idea. By the way, I do believe this idea will spread. If funds are available I think it will eventually become a part of various other schools in the city and perhaps other cities around the country.

It is a very exciting program because it is the new approach to learning, it is the new approach to teaching the world cultures. Formerly our approach has been very sterile and very artificial. This is an attempt to bring relevance to our students. If the textbook approach which we have used in the past were continued, I think that we would turn our students off. These are popular phrases used nowadays in education. I think we have turned them off and I think we would continue to do so if we continue along those lines.

This laboratory approach deemphasizes the textbook and it uses the community as a laboratory. In addition, it gets the people in the community interested in education, which is an important thing because we as educators can not do the job alone, we need the community.

Our students have an opportunity to meet various people from other cultures. Where else would children in an inner city school get an opportunity to meet Indians, for example, or to meet people from Middle Eastern cultures and so forth, and so on. This is an opportunity for them to see these people first-hand and it certainly takes them away from the textbook approach, which has been so much a part of the teaching of world cultures heretofore.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How did you determine which particular ethnic groups to include in the workshop?

Anybody can answer.

Miss GAULT. We had planning sessions last summer and we used students as well as Nationalities Service Center personnel and the teachers involved. They selected the four areas that were used on the high school level.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What were those? What were the areas?

Sister MICHELE. China, India, Latin America, and Africa.

In this it was experimental and in the school system it was being the approach to world cultures on a comparative basis, again having this so we could see results and evaluate the normal or regular type of world cultures class. We were trying to keep the areas as similar in the comparative cultures as would be in the regular world cultures pattern and this is how we came upon these four areas.

Reverend CARBONE. On the grammar school level, we approached the schools and asked the teachers to take a look at which ethnic groups made up the particular classes and the emphasis would start with those ethnic groups, because they would be most familiar to the students, and this is the way it has been on the grammar school level.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you make any effort at all at teaching languages?

Reverend CARBONE. At the present time, no.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you think that in the long range that this is desirable, or do you think there is enough material on just the subject itself without using the instruction of languages?

Mr. Principal, I think you mentioned something about the fact that we are the only Nation that is monolingual.

Reverend CARBONE. I mentioned that, Mr. Pucinski. It would be ideal eventually if children could get to the point where they appreciate ethnic backgrounds to such an extent that they would just love to go into the language too. I suppose that should be part of the program, but at the present time I think it is something that is a little too far off. I hope it would be an ideal result of something that we are doing here.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You made the very interesting observation that most school systems throughout the world insist at least on bilingualism and some on substantially more than two languages. It is a source of great concern to me that we as the leader of the world, the United States, with such varied interests all over the world, place so little emphasis on language in our educational system.

I am sure that these are the kinds of things that this bill would be addressing itself to in due time.

Now on the source material I am particularly concerned about the availability of material. Do you believe that special material should be developed for these kinds of courses and for this kind of curriculum? Are they available now?

Miss GAULT. Materials were gathered. In fact, this was part of the job this summer at the Nationalities Service Center. Materials were gathered from all over. I think that materials are one thing and they are important, but I am more interested in using people resource, people who have a certain expertise in the area of ethnic studies.

Reverend CARBONE. I think at the present time whenever we explain this program to people they are very enthusiastic about it but they will say it is on the fifth grade level; what about next year, will it be extended to sixth grade, seventh grade, eighth grade level? There we have to be very reserved because we don't know whether we are

going to have that much available to us. Even insofar as people are concerned now, most of this on a grade school level is done by volunteers and by parents.

In many areas we are running rather thin, so if we are going to extend this a few more grades we need an awful lot more than what we have now, on a volunteer basis which I don't think could possibly cover that. I think Mr. Miller would agree.

Mr. MILLER. I agree.

The other comment I would make in the area of social studies which would be in the public school, we do touch upon the various ethnic groups but it is only a superficial kind of thing, nothing in depth. Even now with this present program that we have, unless we had an outside source such as the Nationalities Service Center to help us out we would not be able to do it. My teachers are not qualified, really, to go in depth in each one of these and we would need outside help.

Mr. PUCINSKI. One of the purposes of this bill is to provide summer seminars and various other educational aids to the teacher herself to help prepare the teacher for these kinds of sources.

Now I am very much impressed with the experience that you have and it really fortifies to a great extent what we have been trying to say here for a long time in terms of new horizons in education, meaningful horizons. I would like to congratulate you for attempting this new approach to education. It is going to be very interesting to hear from the parents and from the students.

Is there anything that any of you would like to add?

Mr. JAIPAUL. I would like Mrs. Pushkar, and Mr. French, who is director of social studies for the board of education to come forward and testify. Mrs. Pushkar is very concerned about developing the history of the Ukraine in this country.

Mr. PUCINSKI. If our good reporter here can hear, and I don't know whether she will be able to hear as well, perhaps we can save some time and save you moving around, maybe the people can just tell us from where they are their views and we can help these teachers here move around.

Let's try that. Speak loud enough for the lady here who is taking the transcript to hear what you are saying.

Mr. JAIPAUL. Mr. George French, director of social studies instructional services, Philadelphia Board of Education.

Mr. PUCINSKI. All right, Mr. French.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE FRENCH, DIRECTOR OF INSTRUCTIONAL SERVICES, PHILADELPHIA BOARD OF EDUCATION

Mr. FRENCH. I don't know whether this is the proper time to say it, I had hoped to say something just a little bit more than the question of materials.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Please do. Why don't you join us here at the witness table.

Mr. FRENCH. Dr. Jaipaul asked if I would come down with him today. He indicated that we were to express to you how we looked at the program from our particular perspectives.

As a person responsible for the social studies instructional program in the school district of Philadelphia and the public school district, I

was very much enthused when I read the contents of the proposed legislation, and the testimony that was received at the last hearing. I can't tell you how concerned I am about the passage of this bill for many reasons. Some questions that I had I would like to share with you or someone concerned.

First of all, in my duties working with the Philadelphia school system in trying to develop the kind of a program that has some meaning for the boys and girls that we are serving and to deal with some of the tensions that we have, a couple of things have come to mind that seem to be starkly in contrast to one and the other, but which I think are very serious considerations.

One, I think our young people are finding a new social order, a new cultural life style, if you will, where they are concerned with not only the acceptance of diversity and difference but the understanding that the diversity characterizing our society is a creative force that should be fostered whereas our curriculum tends to reflect the old melting pot concept which flies in the face of reality these days.

In contrast to that, we have a group of young people who believe in the kind of a homogeneity of style of their parents and of ideas. Unfortunately, usually what they consider to be the standard is, whatever they happen to be, and this is contributing to a great deal of the racial tension and a great deal of the social unrest that we have in our urban centers.

I will have to take issue with a remark that I heard from some of the previous testimony, the gentleman that testified before this. I wish I could be comforted by the remark that this country has worked with its diverse minority groups. I am afraid I don't find that to be the case. We have for example, in our city great racial unrest, racial tension, great unrest amongst the boys and girls, polarization amongst the young people and the faculty.

We couple that with the kind of fiscal starvation that is visited upon these greater urban centers. Some of the things that are in your legislation. For example, in the school district of Philadelphia we are trying to get what we call multicultural centers where boys and girls can go and see the ethnic contributions to the redevelopment of a unique American society. We would perhaps have satellite centers where they get indepth exploration of their ethnic background or someone else if this is what they are interested in.

Unfortunately, I don't even have the staff, for example, to free one person up to do full time planning for this kind of thing. I think this is indicative of the kind of apathy that the American people have toward public education in general and specifically what I call social literacy. We hear a lot about the functional literacy of our boys and girls, they can not read and they can not compute, yet we have this kind of social illiteracy that we allow to continue.

This insistence that there is no problem or if there is a problem some kind of very superficial approach to it is going to be the solution to it.

So I am very anxious to see that the bill is passed. I would like to say one thing, Mr. Chairman, that alarmed me somewhat. I may have misunderstood what you said but I thought I heard you say that this was to develop or to furnish the development of curricula materials and what-not for universities.

Mr. PUCINSKI. No, no. The centers were to be located at the universities, primarily, to develop to the force the elementary and secondary schools. As you know, the language is reasonably flexible so that it does not have to be at a university. For instance, if the Philadelphia school system wants to develop its own center of ethnic studies to develop material for its school system to be used in house, I would see no problem here if the Commissioner were to fund that kind of a program. We have tried to leave enough latitude here.

The main thrust of this bill is to produce material for the elementary and secondary school level. Now where that material is produced or how it is produced, we will have to leave to the educational community, people like yourself, who know the problem and who can come up with recommendations and suggestions.

I can see where, for instance, a school system like the Philadelphia school system may very well want to develop its own center to generate the information that you need for your in-house programs.

This bill is designed to be sufficiently flexible to permit that to be done. Basically we thought that the main thrust would come from universities which are uniquely suited to deal in this whole business of producing curriculum material.

Now this, of course, as you will notice from the bill, the bill anticipates using all resources, private and public, for museums. We have in this country a lot of ethnic museums that are privately operated right now and yet they have fantastic material that you won't find any place else if a particular group.

We had a gentleman testify yesterday, Mr. Balzekas, who heads up the Lithuanian Museum in Chicago, south side of Chicago, and yet they have material about the cultural life of the Lithuanians that I don't think you will find any place else in this country. So obviously we would hope that whoever is going to be developing material would be in contact with an institution like the one Mr. Balzekas operates to draw from this institution whatever material and information they need.

We have purposefully left this flexible enough so that as we move along we can take ideas such as your own. You are obviously working very closely with this, have some pretty firm ideas on how best to do this. I don't want anything in this bill to preclude you from developing those ideas. On the contrary, we want to encourage it. We want to try and bring out of the woodwork the new ideas that are all over this country such as this project right here that nobody ever knows about, yet it may very well be making some real significant contribution in bringing about a greater awareness that this Nation is a mosaic, it is not a monolith, it is a mosaic of a lot of different people. I agree with you, sir, that I think the great penalty that we are paying today is that we have tried to deny the existence of this mosaicity. Somehow we have just made it very unpopular and in some instances almost un-American to suggest that someone is of a particular ethnic background. So I agree with you and I just want to make one thing clear to you. The main thrust of this bill is to help develop material for the very thing that you have been talking about.

Dr. French, have you completed your statement?

Mr. FRENCH. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I want to congratulate all of you so far. I must say that I am impressed with what a broad range of views you have on this problem. I am even more impressed with the professional way in which you are trying to approach it.

**STATEMENT OF MRS. STEPHANIE PUSHKAR, UKRAINIAN
WOMEN'S LEAGUE**

Mrs. PUSHKAR. I am representing the Ukrainian ethnic group, the group who is the most interested in your program to study cultural heritage of ethnic groups in the United States. I think there is no other ethnic group in this country whose history and culture would be more misrepresented in the school textbooks, not only in primary and secondary education but in higher education as well.

To try to build our ethnic group and to retain it in America we started really from the kindergarten. Our organization, the Ukrainian Women's League, is carrying 16 kindergartens in the United States. We have found out that if we would not start from the kindergarten the language could not be retained even in grade school.

These children that started at 3 today are able to retain the language very well in higher classes, but as soon as they come to the higher education there is terrific conflict between Ukrainian schools and the public school itself, American school. They teach the history of Ukraine which is completely different from these that they are taught in our classes. The children are compelled to write the full statement about the history of the Ukraine because otherwise they are not going to pass the grade. These things, as I say, are very actual in America. You would be very interested in the program of going through the textbooks of history which is viewed mostly here on the materials from a time when the Ukraine colonial country was under Russian domination and therefore the revision of this material is absolutely imperative.

As I say, this is not on the level of grade schools and high schools but as well in the colleges too. Recently we had the open letter of one of the professors from Indiana University on Eastern history, Prof. Steven Horaka. I would like to quote him. He says:

Finally, it must be pointed out that there exists a certain abnormality in our universities which are engaging in the research and teaching of East European history. One may wonder about the training of our future scholars who are denied the start of the history of non-Russian nations even in our largest universities and research centers.

I am quoting just these things in order to prove that this is not on the level of high schools but in the colleges as well. Therefore, we are very interested in your program and we would do whatever is necessary to do in order to be realized.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am aware of the fact that in many of these ethnic groups the less identifiable and perhaps the more identifiable that there are many misconceptions simply because we do not have any programs in this country where they try to put together comprehensive educational text material.

I think that one of the thrusts of this bill is to do exactly what you are planning; that is, to get away from the false impressions, the

misleading information, and get some competent scholars who could put into proper perspective the histories of some of these identifiable ethnic groups in America.

The other evening I saw a half-hour television show in Chicago on one of the large ethnic groups over there and I could not but feel extremely disappointed because it was so superficial. It really did not tell very much about the depth of the cultural legacy that this particular ethnic group had brought to Chicago. The reason that it did not do that is because there really is very little resource material. This, of course, we are trying to overcome.

**STATEMENT OF CHARLES COLGAN, INTERGROUP SPECIALIST,
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS, OFFICE OF THE SCHOOL
DISTRICT OF PHILADELPHIA**

Mr. COLGAN. My name is Charles Colgan, and I am with the Intergroup Office of the School District of Philadelphia.

First I would like to say something generally in support of the bill and then something specifically about the program.

As educators we seek to teach subject matter accurately. Something as simple as a misplaced decimal point in mathematics or a misplaced letter in spelling, or a misplaced symbol in a chemical equation can render our work ineffective, leaving our student floundering with the inaccurate information. Such is the case now.

We have misplaced part of the world and American history. Specifically, we have mislead the role of ethnic groups and in particular African descendants and others in world and American history. When the history of any people is distorted or omitted from our subject matter, our role as relayers of accurate information to the Nation's children is discredited. Too often black people and other ethnic groups have been left out of history with the exception of instances, false or true, that readily support the myths of inferiority and minority.

The children are, as in the case of any misplaced or misused segment of the education process, left with inaccurate information and twisted human values. This problem today is aggravated by the fact that the domestic stability of our Nation is threatened by persistent racism. This racism is to a great degree a product of a history that has been twisted artificially to exclude and degrade immigrants—Indians, black people, and other ethnic groups. We, as educators, have been the main perpetrators of this artificial history. Now we must do something about it. It is our job as educators to teach accurately the proper role of all men in the history and culture of our Nation and the world and in this way hopefully to establish the communications so necessary to stability of our democracy in the years that lie ahead.

Now specifically in regard to this program I was involved in trying to match up the high schools and we looked at many different facets, what we were trying to achieve and so forth.

In speaking to the principal of Hallahan High School and the principal of William Penn High School we found that the only communication between these two schools has been of a negative nature on

street corners. They are within walking distance of each other. This was the first instance of a positive nature between the two schools. We felt, for instance—just talking black and white for a moment—white people look at black people as some sort of inferior white person. They think of them as “this is a black person.” Black people to a great extent on the street corners look at white people and say, “That is Whitey.” They are not looking beyond that, they are not looking at the culture, they are not looking at the backgrounds, they are not looking at the individuals.

We felt that if, for instance, the white students, which are primarily the student body of Hallahan High School, could look at all cultures—and of course African cultures too—and learn to meet students on a programmatic basis, black students on a programmatic basis, they would look beyond this superficial thing of color and look underneath and see the person, and see the culture, and see the background. The same way with the William Penn High School, the student body of which is primarily black. They would see that the white students are not all the same. They would look beyond that and see the culture, see the contributions of the various cultures of white society.

In our preliminary look at the results so far of a half a year we think that this is succeeding. We do find, however, that there is a dearth of material. It was very difficult during the summer when we were getting material together—a great deal of time was spent trying to find materials and it was extremely difficult. So I would say that the School District of Philadelphia, for instance, would be very interested in supporting this bill.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think you have made a good point. I think the gentleman sitting back there made a very good point also. It is tragic the misconceptions that Americans have of each other, particularly young people just coming into the educational system. There is no question that many Americans have very limited knowledge about those in our nonwhite population, the image that young children have of the Indian and the image that they have of the oriental and the image that they have of the Negro in thinking that his history began four generations ago and totally oblivious of the fact that some of these African nations precede our own Nation by many, many centuries.

I thought that Secretary Rogers made the point very well when he visited Africa a couple of weeks ago and he said at a large meeting there that more than 10 percent of the American population traces lineage to many of the countries of Africa who have a history predating by many, many decades our own history in America. The average American has no concept of these things. This is of course one of the points that we were trying to address ourselves to in these ethnic study bills, to develop material that would show the depth of the cultural legacy that each of us has as a human being.

As you begin probing the background of the individual American you find all sorts of exciting and fascinating things in his history that give an entirely different dimension of understanding about that individual than we do when we just treat him superficially.

I am very grateful to you, sir, and I hope we can be of some help to you.

Mr. COLGAN. Thank you.

Mr. JAIPAUL. We have the mothers.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We will have the students and then we will have the mothers.

Mr. JAIPAUL. All right.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you young ladies want to come up here and tell us about some of your experiences in school? We will take the high school girls first, and then we will take the grade school girls.

Why don't we start right here with this young lady.

Give us your name and tell us something of the courses you are taking.

STATEMENT OF MISS MIKI STERLING, STUDENT, HALLAHAN HIGH SCHOOL

Miss STERLING. My name is Miki Sterling.

The world culture class, at the beginning it brought us together, the two schools. The white kids of our school thought—I don't know if they thought they were better but they acted toward the other school, the black school, like they were better than we were. So now we know each other and we got to know what we are really like instead of just looking at a person by their color.

So we just don't judge people by their color. We have a wider concept of other people and other things.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How about you?

STATEMENT OF MISS PEGGY HATTON, STUDENT, WILLIAM PENN HIGH SCHOOL

Miss HATTON. My name is Peggy Hatton. I am a sophomore at William Penn.

I think that this world culture course has taught me and others to think that people are really people, no matter what religion, race or culture; because the outside appearance really does not put what the person really is inside. I think that this course has made the two schools understand that the outside appearance does not make any difference because a person is a person.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you mind if I ask you if you recall any particular incident where you learned something about some of your friends that you never thought about in terms of their own background?

Miss HATTON. We had a dialog day a month ago and we had six groups together and we had some teachers from Hannemann Mental Health Clinic. I think we discussed what we thought of the person before we even knew them. We drew a wheel and we were supposed to look at the person and think of what we thought that person was before we knew him.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What do you think that person was before you knew him?

Miss HATTON. You know, like write a word describing the person as you saw them before you knew what type of person they really were.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you recall what you wrote?

Miss HATTON. Well, I had a friend named Rosemary, and I wrote, that to me she seemed to be a very kind and quiet person and to me, I think she could be a very nice friend.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What happened after you got to know her?

Miss HATTON. Well, we became friends and we sit together in our group sometimes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How about you, young lady?

STATEMENT OF MISS OLIVIA COLON, STUDENT, HALLAHAN HIGH SCHOOL

Miss COLON. My name is Olivia Colon. I am a student from Hallahan.

One of the things I like most of all in the world cultures classes is: it was not like the routine regular classes where you have, like 45 minutes, and you had to come in. We go to the Nationalities Service Center and we team up with William Penn, which we never had done before. At the beginning all the girls from Hallahan sat on one side and all the other girls from William Penn sat on the other side. It was very segregated. We never really got along very well until we had the Day of Dialogue and we found out that we could really become close friends and everything. Of course it has helped us to understand more about people and not judge them like we had in India and the caste system. We thought they were ignorant or something because they would believe in something like this, that a group would be inferior to the other. We found out that we have to study these people to understand why they feel this way, and we can not make up our mind.

I think if this bill is passed it would help us a lot because so much of the problem in the United States with racism and all, we need something like this to help. I think if we do understand and know more of another culture we would be able not to go against them or anything, like we would have a doubt about them.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You had some courses in African history. What caught your attention, and gave you views that you had not had before?

Miss COLON. Well, I think most of us just thought that people from Africa used to run around half naked or very wild and everything, but then we went to the Art Museum in Philadelphia and we went to Impact Africa which they had at that time, and we saw the beauty that these people had in their art and even in their cooking utensils and everything that they used every day.

We saw that these people were very talented and we saw how they danced and everything. We got to know that these people are not just wild and ignorant but they are very talented. We learned a lot about them. We thought we had a very negative idea about Africa.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Dellenback.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Coming from the westernmost part of the United States where I think most Americans think we are still a wild Indian country, I can undersand that there would be misunderstandings about other sections of the world.

Mr. PUCINSKI. This young lady?

STATEMENT OF MISS WANDA PATE, STUDENT, WILLIAM PENN HIGH SCHOOL

Miss PATE. I am Wanda Pate from William Penn.

I found it interesting for the fact that usually when you read a book, the picture does not come alive, it does not tell you anything about

yourself or about anyone else. This world culture course gave you a chance to go past the books into the reality of it all. We had Miss Ma from China and she could tell us how she got out of Red China and how little she was and how hard it was for her mother, but yet in the books all it says is Red China is Communist and things like that, which tells us none of the hardships that people really have.

I feel that when Hallahan first came we thought of them as the girls in the blue suits. We never knew them apart and then when Dialogue Day came we found they were just like us because they dressed like us for that day.

I learned about how we are called Afro-Americans, and the black people, really I knew nothing about Africa, I thought it was a place where Tarzan roamed and everything and it never meant anything to me. I just thought of myself as an American. So when the new trend came on about the Afro-American I wanted to pry deeper into the books.

When we were offered a chance with Africans by speaking to them and learning of their social structure and everything this was all explained to me.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Did it help you perhaps understand yourself a little better?

Miss PATE. Yes, it did.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Were you impressed with what you had learned about the rich history of Africa?

Miss PATE. Yes, I was because as I said before, I had always been taught in school that it was all jungle and really when you get down to it only a small percentage of Africa is jungle. I thought it was all hot where people ran around naked with nothing on, and it is not like that.

Mrs. Roots in our own classroom showed us a film about the hospitals in Africa and it showed us everything, it kept back nothing.

Mr. DELLENBACK. You made a statement that until you began this study you considered yourself an American, then when they began to call you Afro-American you began to delve into this history. What has this done so far as your feeling as an American? Has this made you feel more involved or more separate?

Miss PATE. It has made me feel more involved for the fact that I know I must work on a 2-way basis. I must help myself as an Afro-American and I must help to come along and get together with other people to let them know that I am not just an outcast but I am a person.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Did you feel like an outcast before?

Miss PATE. Yes, I did.

Mr. DELLENBACK. So this has actually reduced your feeling of being an outcast by giving you some tie to a different heritage?

Miss PATE. Very much.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Next?

STATEMENT OF MISS MARY KAY COPPOCK, STUDENT, HALLAHAN HIGH SCHOOL

Miss COPPOCK. My name is Mary Kay Coppock, and I am a 10th grade student at Hallahan.

During the summer I had the opportunity of being able to select materials and to express my feelings about what students would like to study in the world culture course. We were allowed to express an opinion about more than just learning from books, that we would like to have demonstrations of people expressing how they live, their everyday life and how they can communicate with other people.

I think when the two schools got together there was a lot of hardships and a lot of tension brought among us because we were always in our uniforms and the other students were in everyday clothes that they would wear to school. I guess we had a feeling that we were supposed to be setting an example more than just being a person because we come from a Catholic school.

But when we had the Day of Dialog a lot of the problems were brought out and people were more free to speak what they felt and they were not afraid to bring up many things that bothered them. I think that everybody has now realized that they are a person, not just on the surface but they are an individual.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Has this course helped you understand more thoroughly that while each of use are perhaps a little different in our own way, that we do have a lot of things in common?

Miss COPPOCK. Everybody is different in how they go about things and how they live, but if you really look at each other, we are all the same.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What is your judgment of this whole course? How would you improve it? Is there any suggestion that you have on how you would improve the course?

Miss COPPOCK. That there would be more discussions between students on how they felt about certain policies of countries, or their customs or communication.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The young lady behind you.

STATEMENT OF MISS YVONNE WALLACE, STUDENT, WILLIAM PENN HIGH SCHOOL

Miss WALLACE. My name is Yvonne Wallace. I am a student at William Penn High School.

I am involved with the World Culture class which consists of girls from Hallahan and William Penn. I am honored that I was chosen for this special program.

As I sit in the classes on Wednesday and Thursday listening to a different speaker from a different part of the world, such as China, India, Mexico, Africa and other parts of the world, I get more interested and then I start to think of who we will have the next week and how I will get excited.

For myself, I have really enjoyed every moment of this course. We have learned things. Before we would just sit in the classroom and read about it in the history book but now we heard from a person from the country and we understand it better, understand why it was so.

As for Hallahan being a parochial school and William Penn being a public school, we could not understand each other but now it is much clearer. They are just teenagers like we are, like the same thinks we

like. I even got to understand their school system, they got to understand ours better. We understand each other and our own cultures.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How long have you been in this course?

Miss WALLACE. Since last September.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What do you remember most about your discussions on Africa?

Miss WALLACE. How they dressed and what kind of food they ate and how they live.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What about Mexico?

Miss WALLACE. We learned how the people make things for themselves and sell it in the markets and their home life.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What was your impression of Americans of Mexican descent before you got into this course?

Miss WALLACE. I thought they were just ordinary people—you know, Mexicans. I don't know.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What was your impression after the course?

Miss WALLACE. I thought they were just like ourselves but they have a different culture and we understand it better.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Does it help you in your judgment of these people when you know more about their own culture?

Miss WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Why would that be?

Miss WALLACE. Because you just don't look at them and say, "Well, she's from Ethiopia or Mexico," but you look at them as a person just like you.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The young lady next to you.

STATEMENT OF MISS BARBARA DOUGLASS, STUDENT, WILLIAM PENN HIGH SCHOOL

Miss DOUGLASS. My name is Barbara Douglass. I am from the William Penn High School.

I think I like this course best because it gives us a chance to understand our neighbors. We always hear about in America everybody is equal, but yet when you come right down to it it seems like we always have different groups fighting against each other. I think this course helped me to understand America and the meaning of the word "equal," because we learned about the different cultures and why people do things and can understand them better. We know they are Americans just like we are and that there is really no difference at all.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Are you having fun in this particular course?

Miss DOUGLASS. Having fun!

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes.

Miss DOUGLASS. Yes, I suppose I am because I get to understand people and then, you know, you meet different people from the different countries and stuff that you are studying.

I was with Mary K. this summer planning the course, and at first I thought it was not going to work out because William Penn is primarily black, and Hallahan primarily white, and I thought they would not get along too well. But going to the classes I saw that we were getting along better than what I imagined that we could. So I think this course has done a lot for the two schools and also helped us.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Was the principal advantage that you got to know them as people—these people who came from the other school really were just like you?

Miss DOUGLASS. Yes.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Would this have followed if you had been studying—What is your favorite subject?

Miss DOUGLASS. You mean in school or in this course?

Mr. DELLENBACK. In school what is your favorite subject?

Miss DOUGLASS. History.

Mr. DELLENBACK. What if they brought some of these students from the other school and you had been studying history together? Would this have been a way to find out about the two and find out that they are pretty nice people?

Miss DOUGLASS. I suppose it would, but I think it is better when we are all together in one class and having other people from different cultures coming over and talking.

Mr. DELLENBACK. If you had people come into that sort of class in history and tell you about what it was like back in another time, about the invention of the television or the invention of the plane for example, would this have been the same sort of thing?

Miss DOUGLASS. No, because it is just like telling us about the mechanical things, it is not really helping us to understand the people themselves or anything of that sort. This course is bringing out that people are really just the same all over no matter what nationality or race or anything.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Then what you are studying is what you feel is valuable rather than just mixing with the people from another school. What if you had not had the mixture from the other school, if you had just had people who came in and told your class about other cultures, would that have been just as good?

Forget about mixing the other school in with yours, forget about mixing the girls in blue. Would this not have been just about as good?

Miss DOUGLASS. No, I don't think so, because all they do is come in and tell our class about them, we still would not recognize the girls from Hallahan just by sitting in our class. We recognize and understand and appreciate them more than we do if we were just in separate classes.

Mr. DELLENBACK. So you found value in both things?

Miss DOUGLASS. Yes.

Mr. DELLENBACK. What about the people who live in Chicago? Have you ever sat down in a class with the people from Chicago?

Miss DOUGLASS. No; I have not.

Mr. DELLENBACK. You never had a chance to meet any girls from Chicago?

Miss DOUGLASS. No.

Mr. DELLENBACK. How do you feel you would mix with them? Of course they are different from the girls in Philadelphia, aren't they?

Miss DOUGLASS. Not really. When you come down to it, we are all girls, and teenagers.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Does that even hold for San Francisco?

Miss DOUGLASS. Yes, all over the world.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Very good.
This young lady.

STATEMENT OF MISS JOAN MARKEY, STUDENT, HALLAHAN HIGH SCHOOL

Miss MARKEY. Joan Markey, a student from Hallahan High School. I think this course was so much better than last year's course because last year all we had was books and facts and things that was really boring, I really got nothing out of it. I was glad I was put in this course because people would come from different countries and they would tell you what was really going on. When it was in the books it would just tell you basic facts, they don't tell you other things about family life and stuff like that. They don't tell you those things. It was more interesting with the speakers because they would know more about it, they witnessed everything and they would tell you the truth.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What did they do? I am not quite sure I understand the improvements of this year's course over last year's course.

Miss MARKEY. Last year all they really taught was population and capitals and things like that, they never told you really that much about the people. Agriculture, that is all they told you. They didn't tell you about the people and things.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You prefer now when they tell you more about people, themselves, is that it? Do I understand you correctly?

Miss MARKEY. Yes, because the people is what really makes up the country—it is not the agriculture and everything, it is the people. Without the people it would be nothing.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Didn't your teachers do this before?

Miss MARKEY. Not really. They give you some basic facts and things, but not—

Mr. DELLENBACK. Have you ever had a teacher who made the subject really come alive for you the same way these visiting people did?

Miss MARKEY. Well, I only have had World Culture I and that was last year and she really didn't—she just gave notes and taught things about government and things like that, didn't talk about the people that much.

Mr. DELLENBACK. What is your favorite subject?

Miss MARKEY. Gym.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I have two boys who I think feel the same way.

What about another subject, an academic subject, that you like.

Miss MARKEY. Well, biology, I guess.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Does that subject come alive for you?

Do you understand something about the animals you are dealing with?

Miss MARKEY. Yes.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Using the phrase loosely, when I say does the subject come alive, do you tend to go the other way?

Miss MARKEY. Yes. That is why I like it, because it is more interesting to me than anything else.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Is that teacher here today?

Miss MARKEY. No.

Mr. DELLENBACK. All right. Does that teacher that teaches that subject make it come alive for you so that you really understand?

Miss MARKEY. Well, she does not really make it come alive but it is interesting, I think.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Do you do any laboratory work? Are you doing any bisecting?

Miss MARKEY. Yes, frogs.

Mr. DELLENBACK. How about studying that out of a book? Is that interesting at all to you?

Miss MARKEY. No, because like when you cut the frog open you know what you are looking at but when they tell you in the book you don't have any idea.

Mr. DELLENBACK. So that in biology the laboratory work helps make that subject become real for you in the way the book didn't, and the teacher didn't?

Miss MARKEY. It is better when you are more involved, you understand better when you are in there and doing things and having things in front of you to know what you are talking about, and what you are studying and everything. It is better than just reading from a book.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Have you ever had a subject in school that was just out of a book but the teacher was so great that she really made it seem alive for you?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Jaipaul and Mr. Miller and Father Carbone, I want to congratulate you for these very fine young women. Everybody is talking about quality in education and everybody is concerned about what is happening to our educational system. Just about the time you think the whole thing is falling apart you run into an experience like this morning here in listening to these fine young women who are very loquacious, and have their own opinions. All of a sudden you realize that maybe the country really is not quite falling apart as much as we think it is.

So I am grateful to you ladies for giving us the insight. I found your testimony extremely helpful and I am most grateful to you.

Mr. DELLENBACK. May I say one other word. I hope that none of you young ladies have taken my questions as really disagreeing with what you are saying. I can find out a little more about what you thought about some aspects because after first agreeing with the Chairman that I don't think the country is falling apart, I think the country is going through some very healthy growing pains, and we have a great future ahead of us.

I think the thing that some of you have mentioned as having learned, namely that by mixing with other people you find that beneath different exteriors they are really much like you. You find that to be true if you mix with students from other schools in Philadelphia or other cities. I hope that the lesson that you have learned is not that these two schools are similar or that the girls who happen to be in that class are similar, but that it is also true way beyond these two schools and way beyond just the girl that you have gotten to know already. If we picked girls out of a school in my State of Oregon and put them down in Philadelphia and they got to know you and you got to know them, you would find that the bonds are very close there too.

So I think the lesson that some of you have spoken about so articulately is a deep lesson and it does not stop just with the girls who happen to be in the classes you have sat in.

I thank you also for what you have given us this morning.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Very rich experience.

Now we are going to hear from the kiddie corral over here.

Thank you very much, ladies, we are very grateful to you.

How about you young ladies, do you want to come over here now and tell us about your school?

Mr. JAIPAUL. Maybe their mothers should join them.

Mr. PUCINSKI. All right. Very happy to have their mothers join them if they like.

We will start out with this little lady in the green jacket.

**STATEMENT OF MISS CARLA DONCH, FIFTH GRADE STUDENT,
SACRED HEART SCHOOL**

Miss DONCH. My name is Carla Donch and I go to Sacred Heart School.

When we first knew that we were going to go to public school and the public school would come to us we said, "Oh, we don't want to go with them, we don't want to sit with them, we don't want to have no part of them."

But when we found out we would learn about the nationalities and we will find out more about ourselves and them too, we became friends of them and we learned more.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What grade are you in?

Miss DONCH. Fifth.

We really learn more and we know more.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What is the thing that you remember most about your course?

Mr. JAIPAUL. Maybe her mother can help her. She may have related to her mother.

STATEMENT OF MRS. DOLORES DONCH

Mrs. DONCH. What did you come home so impressed with one day?

Miss DONCH. When we went to the Bartlett School and we saw this dance and I was really impressed with it, the way they had to know how they did it and the way they played the drums and they did all these actions.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How about that young lady?

**STATEMENT OF MISS NANCY ANDERSON, FIFTH GRADE STUDENT,
SACRED HEART SCHOOL**

Miss ANDERSON. Nancy Anderson. I go to Sacred Heart School.

In this program I learned more about the other people that I met in public school and the people around my neighborhood and I learned more about nationalities and others.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How about that young lady?

**STATEMENT OF MISS RACHEL FINKELSTEIN, FIFTH GRADE
STUDENT, ABIGAIL VARE SCHOOL**

Miss FINKELSTEIN. Rachel Finkelstein, Abigail Vare School.

At the beginning we didn't think it would be interesting or fun but when we started it was interesting to see the movies, dances, and learn about the different nationalities and taste other foods that they eat and all. It was fun to see the films and to learn about the different people and how they came to America and all.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How about this young lady?

**STATEMENT OF MISS NANCY SWANSON, FIFTH GRADER, ABIGAIL
VARE SCHOOL**

Miss SWANSON. My name is Nancy Swanson. I come from Abigail Vare School.

At the beginning of the program I didn't really think much of the Catholics or anything because I didn't like them. Everybody kept on saying that they start fights and all, so when we went over to their school—we always went over to their school and they always came over to our school—we got along. We sat together and all. When they turned on the films and all we could not hear until they stopped talking.

The thing I really liked was when we went to Bartlett School and we watched the African dances and when we watched the films. I really liked it.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What impressed you most about the films about Africa?

Miss SWANSON. I don't know, that I learned more about them and that I thought a lot about them, like I didn't really judge them by their color, I didn't say nothing about them. I really liked them.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How old are you, Miss Swanson?

Miss SWANSON. Ten.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What grade are you in?

Miss SWANSON. Fifth.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Now let's hear from the mothers.

STATEMENT OF MRS. KAY SWANSON

Mrs. SWANSON. I am Kay Swanson. I was all for the program in the beginning. I went to the planning meetings before it started. I just liked the program in the beginning. It started in November so we studied about how Christmas is celebrated. So it covered more than just the four nationalities, it covered all the nationalities—Mexican, Puerto Rican. The mothers of the nationalities brought in different foods for all the children to sample. Everyone didn't like it but they all tried it, and I thought it was interesting as it went along.

I know it is more work for the parents because the books aren't just listed under an Italian or Irish or Jewish, it is all reference work, but I think it was interesting.

STATEMENT OF MRS. GERTRUDE FINKELSTEIN

Mrs. FINKELSTEIN. My name is Gertrude Finkelstein.

At first when I heard about this program I was not for it because I am the type that when I hear something I want to find out first and give my approval if I want my children to attend such things. I inquired and I found out and I approved of it, and I like it.

I am a crossing guard in front of this Vare School. I have been there 16 years and I have seen a lot and I know a lot that is going on. Since this program has started there is an awful big improvement in the children from the Catholic schools coming past the corner, a big improvement, which is very good because that means that we are all learning and taking a bigger interest and we are getting to know each other better without this slander and without these looks that are given to each other. I think it is very good.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Next.

STATEMENT OF MRS. DOLORES DONCH

Mrs. DONCH. Dolores Donch.

I think the biggest change is the breakdown of the barrier between these children. A big thing in the area chosen is the fact that we have such a mixture of nationalities here. For some reason you always had the name-calling but now that these children are realizing that these people all started as a minority I think they are beginning to better tolerate each other and to realize, well, their grandfathers came here and they started as a minority and they had a hard time of it just as well as my grandfather.

So I think there is less of this now plus the fact that also with the black and white situation I know what my daughter had told me when she came back from that school that impressed me so much. She said, "You know, we always see them in fights," but she said, "These children did such a remarkable job of making all these costumes, of making the scenery."

I did not go, I did not have the pleasure. However, she was impressed with the fact that they were able to do all this and she didn't realize they were capable of doing it, but I think now she can see them just as well as she is.

Mr. PUCINSKI. All right.

STATEMENT OF MRS. RITA ANDERSON

Mrs. ANDERSON. My name is Rita Anderson.

I am for the program 100 percent because even I am learning from the program and the background of different nationalities and people and everything. I really think it is great and it is helping the children a lot, as she said before, with the barriers that have been built up in our neighborhood over the years through nationalities and everything.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you ladies get to see some of the textbook material that is available in some of these courses?

Mrs. FINKELSTEIN. There are not any textbooks. There is a lot of information but the children themselves have to look it up. I know Rachael is always using the encyclopedias at home. I have told the

Sister at Sacred Heart School that the children from that school have permission, I will allow them to use my encyclopedias if they don't have any, on certain days if they need this information. This is what it is, mostly to look up information, reference work.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you agree though with the previous testimony that there is a need for more film, slides and textbook materials, the very things that this legislation proposes to make possible?

Mrs. FINKELSTEIN. Yes, they could use more books.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Development of educational material in this whole field.

What is your impression of that?

Mrs. SWANSON. I think that they need books on just the cultures alone because at our school we don't have the books, it is all reference work. We have the films, though, but I feel they could use more.

Mrs. FINKELSTEIN. I think they could use books too.

Mrs. DONCH. Very definitely. I have had occasion to see some of the films and they are good but I don't think they are enough, I think there should be more.

Mrs. SWANSON. We need many more books and film strips. We have a few not that many.

Mr. DELLENBACK. May I ask a question.

In view of what you just heard the 10th graders say, the books were dry, the books didn't give them anything, it was only when people came and talked to them that the subjects came alive. What good would these books do under those circumstances?

Mrs. FINKELSTEIN. Some teachers or anyone could hold your interest when they tell you something and some can't, and some when you read it from a book you get more interest out of it than you could if you listened to it.

Mr. DELLENBACK. So that you think what these young ladies in the 10th grade were really saying is that the teaching is not good?

Mrs. FINKELSTEIN. No. The teaching is very good but they have to have something to back it up and so they could see it. If they have some one teaching it to them and a book to show them with pictures, it will come alive to them.

Mr. DELLENBACK. And the book alone will not do it.

Mrs. FINKELSTEIN. No.

Mr. DELLENBACK. The book will be dry.

Mrs. FINKELSTEIN. That is right.

Mr. DELLENBACK. No matter how broad its coverage, it won't do the trick without teachers.

Mrs. FINKELSTEIN. That is right, they need teachers.

Mr. PUCINSKI. When we had the teachers and the principal testifying earlier the testimony was that one of the big problems is that there is not good resource material available at this point and that this is one of the limitations that they have in trying to bring these subjects more alive.

They just don't have the textbook material, the film slides, the various others. Now they have all mentioned films but as we look through the glossary of material that is available for these ethnic study courses it is extremely limited, and that was the earlier testimony.

Now I think that one of the things that these ethnic study centers

would be doing is developing new and more exciting techniques and materials and methods for teaching the subjects. That is the main thrust of the legislation before us now.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I made a reference to what we heard four or five of the young ladies from the 10th grade say, that the books by themselves were not it, that they didn't feel it came alive for them until such time as they heard some body talking. I was merely asking the mothers what they thought of that.

Mr. JAIPAUL. I think this testimony proves several things. One, the students are not saying the teachers don't hold their attention. Teachers have learned when the resources were not there. Gradually their knowledge is enhanced. With that knowledge behind today's generation of a lot brighter and smarter than us.

Mr. PUCINSKI. It was the testimony of Mr. French—I believe it was the main thrust of your testimony, if I recall correctly, that you needed more resource material.

Mr. FRENCH. Yes. Actually, I think we are touching on a multitude of very complex things, it is not just a question of more resources. In terms of material and more resources, the kinds of people and the more resources for retraining the teachers.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is the point that Mr. Jaipaul is making.

As you know in this legislation we also try to provide for teacher training because we find, as all of these young ladies have very well testified, where you have a teacher who has had access to this material she can bring the subject to life.

On the other hand, where the teacher has had no experience in this field it is very difficult to thrust this responsibility on her when she has not been prepared.

Is there anyone who has not testified that wanted to add anything to our discussion today?

Mr. JAIPAUL. Mr. Schmidt, the chairman of our program.

STATEMENT OF HARVEY N. SCHMIDT, BOARD MEMBER, NATIONALITIES SERVICE CENTER; CHAIRMAN, NATIONALITY COMMUNITY RACE RELATIONS PROGRAM; AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, COMMUNITY LEGAL SERVICES

Mr. SCHMIDT. Thank you for the invitation.

I am Harvey N. Schmidt, and I am the Chairman of the committee that sponsors this program.

I want to say a very special thanks to you, Mr. Chairman, and to your committee for this opportunity to come and testify on this bill. I think that very easily this may be one of the most important pieces of legislation in our time as I look at the entire American scene.

I certainly want to say on behalf of both this committee and also as a board member of the Nationalities Service Center, a very special thanks to you for this opportunity and for your support and interest in this bill.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you, Mr. Schmidt.

Will you tell us what are some of the day-to-day problems that you are confronted with in trying to move your program ahead?

Mr. SCHMIDT. Well, our main problem of course is limited resources and that is principally financial resources.

We have a very small staff working with Dr. Jaipaul; there are only two others who have been working with him and this has been most taxing to him and it is limiting his ability and his staff's ability to really do a good job. It is only by his own intense dedication and interest in this matter along with two members of his staff that he has been able to progress as far as he has.

Of course, he realizes, and I am certain all of us do, that without the cooperation of the school officials we certainly would not have been able to move this along at all.

Really, our fiscal problems are principally the limiting ones, as I see it.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Dellenback.

Mr. DELLENBACK. May I thank you very much for your comments, Mr. Schmidt.

I would like to ask Mrs. Finkelstein another question if I may. I was very much interested in what you said about the noticeable change in the behavior of the Catholic students as they pass your corner. Has there been any similar change in the attitude on the part of the students from the school that you act as a guard for?

Mrs. FINKELSTEIN. The public school?

Mr. DELLENBACK. Yes, from the public school.

Mrs. FINKELSTEIN. Yes, there is also a change there, too.

Mr. DELLENBACK. So it was not just a change on one side, you feel that there has been a noticeable change from both sides?

Mrs. FINKELSTEIN. Well, not that much from the public school because I never had a problem with them. It was most from the Catholic schools, there are three of them around us, and it was them that were mostly the problem because if I tell them wait for the light, don't cross yet, "Don't tell us what to do, we don't go to that school." But I don't have that attitude now, it is altogether different. We get that even from the children in our school, but very few of them, very few.

Mr. DELLENBACK. But you have noticed a better relationship?

Mrs. FINKELSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. DELLENBACK. How about the children with each other—that is, you were talking about the relationship of the students from your Roman Catholic schools and whether they would obey you. Was there any difficulty between the youngsters themselves as they would stand on the corner? Would they jostle or would they ignore each other—

Mrs. FINKELSTEIN. No, they talk to each other, they don't argue.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Is it better than it was?

Mrs. FINKELSTEIN. It is much better than it was. Even living in our street, or neighborhood we call it, it is a much better relationship since the children around the street study together, much better.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Let me ask one of the young ladies, I don't know which one—maybe Miss Swanson, I can ask you.

Do you know lots of people who have come from different races? Did you ever meet a German girl?

Miss SWANSON. No.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Have you ever met a Swiss girl?

Miss SWANSON. Excuse me?

Mr. DELLENBACK. Have you ever met a girl from Switzerland?

Miss SWANSON. No.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Did you ever meet a girl from France?

Miss SWANSON. No.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Did you ever meet a girl from Germany?

Miss SWANSON. No.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Would you have any difficulty as to that or do you think that you could get along with one of these young girls if you met them, or would it be a difficult thing?

Miss SWANSON. I don't think it would be so difficult.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Do you think that you would feel any differently about it now than you did before you started this mixing with girls from another school?

Miss SWANSON. Yes.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Why?

Miss SWANSON. I don't know. Because sometimes the people from our school and their school, they always get into fights and all and they usually don't get together, you know.

Mr. DELLENBACK. You mean that is the way it was, or that is the way it is?

Miss SWANSON. That is the way it was.

Mr. DELLENBACK. All that is gone now?

Miss SWANSON. But in the other grades there is not any change.

Mr. DELLENBACK. How about the rest of you? How about Miss Anderson? How do you feel about it? Do you feel that you would have any trouble getting along with a German girl?

Miss ANDERSON. I don't know.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Would you have any trouble getting along with a Russian girl?

Miss ANDERSON. I don't know.

Mr. DELLENBACK. How about an Englishman, a person from Great Britain?

I am just wondering about this picture. You see, sometimes—do any of you know what a Kraut is?

Mrs. FINKELSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. DELLENBACK. You know, sometimes we attach labels to people and then we react to the labels and sometimes the label is something like Kraut. When I asked you these other nationalities, you see, I was just reaching up in the background that I happen to have—a mixture of German, French, and Swiss and Norwegian, so it is all of these things. They are all mixed up in one person. Many of us in America are mixtures of races this way.

If you really have learned from this that you cannot just look at labels and you cannot just look at whether a person is Italian or whether a person is from Israel or whether a person is from Norway or wherever they happen to be from, but if you really look at them as people and really if you will take them as people instead of by labels, in fact whether they go to that school or they belong to this religion or they have that skin color, you will find that people really are good and they don't get the labels. If this has helped you to see just the fact that you have not known them and they come with a different

label on them from you, that they can really be just as you are, this has been a great experience, a great learning process because we all have to learn this.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, very much.

Mr. PUCINSKI. As you can see from those three lights up there the House is now in process of calling for a quorum so we have to go and answer the quorum call on the floor of the House.

I do want to thank Mr. Jaipaul and Mr. Schmidt and all the others who are here today: the teachers and the principals and the parents and students.

This has been really the best testimony that we have had on this bill. We have had some important testimony but this is the first time that we have had a chance to look right into a whole system.

Mr. Jaipaul, I want to congratulate you for putting this together. You brought the whole system here so we had a chance to talk to the principals and the teachers and the students and the parents, all the people involved in this.

I must say that as a result of your testimony I am really very much fortified in pressing for this legislation. When we started this legislation out I didn't realize the potential. I agree with Mr. Schmidt. After listening to the testimony of these proceedings this may very well be one of the most important bills that we will have passed in this Congress. It addresses itself to a problem that we Americans have tried to deny for too long. It is a problem that exists, but happily it is a problem that can be solved and your testimony here today illustrates so convincingly that it can be solved. If we address ourselves to it and we produce the necessary materials and the tools with which to work we can get people to understand one another better.

As these young people have so really eloquently put it, once you get past the facades and the prejudices and the superstitions, the ignorance and the misconceptions, we suddenly discover that we are all pretty much the same human beings.

I want to thank all of you. This has been a very inspirational morning for me.

Mr. JAIPAUL. If I may say one sentence.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes.

Mr. JAIPAUL. In my opinion this whole bill could be the one single most important instrument in creating unity in diversity in this country.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think that is a point well made.

I want to thank all of you. Certainly one of these days we are going to try to come up to Philadelphia and spend the day with you up there.

Thank you very much.

The committee will stand adjourned until March 23.

(Whereupon, at 12:25 p.m. the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m. Monday, March 23, 1970.)

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 1970

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
GENERAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, D.C.

The general subcommittee met at 10 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 2257, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Roman C. Pucinski (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Pucinski and Ruth.

Staff members present: John F. Jennings, majority counsel; and Alexander Kida, clerk.

Mr. Pucinski. Father, we will proceed this morning. We have a number of meetings going on. One of the problems is trying to be in several places at one time. So, as you see, as the day proceeds some members will come in and some members will leave, but all of them, of course, will read the record. So the important thing for us to do is to establish the record here on this legislation. We will proceed and the committee will be in order.

Our first witness this morning is Father Paul Acciolla, editor of the very highly successful English and Italian language newspaper in Chicago about the Italian-American community.

Father Paul, I would like you to know that Congressman Amunio told me that you were going to be here today speaking for some 40 different Italian-American organizations in the Chicago area. Frank wanted to be with us, but he is busy with his committee this morning, as are all of the other members. Congressman Amunio has the highest regard for you and the work you are doing. I do also. I think you have done a tremendous job. I enjoy reading every issue, simply because it tells me what is going on in the Italian-American community, and there are a lot of exciting things going on.

We are very pleased to have you here, and, if you have a prepared statement, it will go in the record in its entirety at this point, and then we will let you proceed in any way you wish. I do want to thank you for coming, because I think it is extremely important that we have the views of someone who knows the problems of Italian Americans as well as you do.

STATEMENT OF FATHER PAUL ASCIOLLA, C.S., EDITOR OF FRA NOI, CHICAGO, ILL., REPRESENTING JOINT CIVIC COMMITTEE OF ITALIAN AMERICANS

Father ASCIOLLA. Thank you very much, Congressman. I would like to read a statement which is not that long, and I have some extra copies in case you need it.

I am here under two hats: As the editor of *Fra Noi*, but also as special projects director for Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans, the human relations arm of that umbrella organization of 40 Italian-American organizations in the Greater Chicago area. So I would like to make that point.

Mr. Chairman, the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans is happy to appear before this subcommittee's hearing on H.R. 14910 to express its endorsement of the bill and the role of the Federal Government in this area. This bill deals specifically with ethnicity as a factor in American life, and the question is long overdue.

The Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans is an umbrella organization for 40 Chicagoland Italian-American organizations whose purposes are civic, educational, charitable, cultural, or religious. For the last 18 years, this organization has provided programs and activities, often in cooperation with other ethnic and racial groups, whose aim was to rediscover or preserve the rich cultural heritage of the Italian Americans in this country: from Columbus to Filippo Mazzei to Fermi. One of its principal aims has been to re-define the Italian-American experience in American history, sensitize the academic community to the value of real American history, and pass our heritage on to our children, all in the mainstream of American life. The programs range from language and citizenship classes, to culture and civilization programs, cuisine and customs and human relations seminars on the relationship of Italian Americans to other ethnic groups in the intricate and delicate tapestry of the American experience.

My colleagues, Irving M. Levine of the American Jewish Committee and Dr. Rudolph Vecoli of the University of Minnesota have preceded me in testifying before you, and I wholeheartedly endorse their recommendations and, as you will notice, I draw upon their knowledge and expertise in the fields of ethnic history and urbanology in my testimony.

We fully realize that to really understand the American adventure in history, and to establish the identity of this "nation of immigrants" as John Kennedy called America, we must understand the history and experience of the many native immigrant groups and the ethnic groups who migrated here from other lands in search of freedom and a part of the "American dream." In order to completely understand this process, the concept of cultural pluralism must be taught and accepted, lest we become incohesive and stagnant as a people.

The "melting pot" theory of Herbert St. John de Crevecoeur and Israel Zangwill has not worked and today we find that a variety of ethnic and racial groups have combined to form the mosaic of the American social fabric, living in relative peace on the same turf.

The "melting pot myth" is dead and ethnic and racial and religious groups at different stages of success in attaining the American dream are alive, relatively well and living in America. This is so despite the many attempts of some in this country to homogenize, pasteurize, and mold everyone into the same form of life style. We have many generations of bicultural citizens, jealous of their citizenship, loyal to their country's ideals, in the throes of an identity crisis which has caused polarization, group interest, tension, and conflict.

The tension and conflict of which I speak has been caused often in the past by a simplistic concept and method of Americanization which contained innumerable imprecisions and inaccuracies, which unfortunately have become an acceptable part of the myth and lore of the neo-melting-pot-theory of our times.

We need not go back to 1782 and the later pre-Victorian seizures which led to the open flaunting of ethnic and racial prejudice—not to speak of group condemnation because of religious belief. The discriminatory immigration legislation which was for the most part purged in 1963, and which cause us to blush now, were based on the conspiratorial attitudes of some of our lawmakers and their proclivity to "folk libel" and guilt by association. Glaring generalities and downright stupidities ennobled, if you please, by the dicta of some of the most astute scholars and clerics of our time, spoke of the natural inferiority of black men and Asians, the innate criminality of Sicilians and southeast Europeans, the subversive tendencies of Jews and orientals, the absolute ineducability of American Indians.

History books too accurately reflect the history of our past in purist terms, sometimes too holy to criticize. Institutional bias and the absence of minority groups from executive suite positions, the exclusivity of some institutions of persons of a particular race or ethnic and religious background, and the entire history of bias and prejudice in our short history as a nation are too gross to fathom, too subtle to define. The doubter will easily recall the types of attitudes about groups, principally based on miseducation, which led to the genocide of European Jewry and the "holy wars" conducted even in our day.

The point I make is this: ethnicity, ethnic and racial differences persist today and in a million conditioned reflexes, some too subtle to measure, and they affect the value systems and attitudes of many groups in our society. There is enough research to substantiate this statement of fact. In spite of the evidence, the teaching and writing of history has been sadly neglectful of ethnicity as a dimension of American history.

Dr. Rudolph Vecoli of the Center of Immigration Studies of the University of Minnesota and a colleague of mine in the American Italian Historical Association has pointed out the "conspiracy of silence" in the writing of American history. Ethnicity, he maintains, is the forgotten dimension and only tangentially, if at all, was it considered in history courses. This "conspiracy of silence" was dictated by a concern in maintaining traditionally scholarly standards and in conveying the historical research toward specific subjects. As a result, he concludes that generations of students were taught, and are still being taught, only white, Anglo-Saxon racist history.

An overview of current writings on history gives a different picture of the situation of history courses today. A Joint Commission of the Organization of American Historians and the American Historical Association issued a statement on the writing and teaching of American history in textbooks, stressing the fact that American ethnic differences must be "faithfully portrayed." But the statement has given mere lip service to the cause and ethnicity remains a forgotten dimension in the research, writing and teaching of American history.

One reason for the lack of interest is that writers and teachers are all English-speaking people, to whom ethnicity means little, if anything at all. A survey of 100 universities conducted by Vecoli does not give a very encouraging picture: 38 universities give courses dealing with ethnicity; 20 of these are general courses in social history; 19 are black history courses, and four are immigration history courses. Immigration history, so necessary to understand the American experience, is still an undeveloped field as suggested by the percentage of scholars interested in immigration history, that is, 2 percent of those teaching on the college level. An analysis of doctoral dissertation gives some reason for optimism, however. Between 1893 and 1963, 27 theses were written on the subject: 9 percent between 1893-1925; 35 percent from 1925-42, and 56 percent from 1945-65. These figures are growing.

The Congress should take the lead in adopting this bill as the beginning of the antidote to the "historical amnesia" which we seem to bear and suffer so patiently.

There is so much we don't know about how groups live and act. We do know from experience however that where there is group life there is group interest, tension and conflict. These phenomena of group life, identity, succession, separatism, cultural pluralism, militancy, integration, assimilation, and acculturation must be studied and placed in proper perspective. When one ethnic group is played against the other, and the situation is compounded by fear and ignorance, the journey of the various ethnic groups into mainstream America is obstructed.

The United States is a country of peoples as well as of people, groups as well as individuals. Groups as well as individuals have identity crises, and their reactions to their own identity and to that of groups around them must be guided by an intelligent understanding and an appreciation of various culture patterns and life styles.

Groups vary along ethnic, racial, religious, and social class lines. All should be in wholesome competition in their own way for the slice of the American pie which we hold out to them, and unless this competition is conducted with a sense of history, myths, lies, ignorance, exploitation by economic, political and military influences will lead to conflict and conflagration.

Therefore, we endorse the establishment of ethnic heritage studies centers as provided in this bill, and the funding of public and private universities and already existing centers of study for this purpose.

However, we might point out that we are reluctant to fully endorse the purely vertical study of ethnic groups, that is, the "single-group" nature of the centers, without the study of the interrelationships of groups and the phenomena of group life.

We know from our own experience that it is necessary to assert the identity of an individual ethnic community by a study of its heritage, cultural values, casual relationships, social, economic, religious patterns of migration and assimilation in this country.

As a matter of fact, the lack of this type of education has compounded the identity crisis of the post-World War II second and third generation ethnics. The result of this severing of all cultural and historical ties with prior values and attitudes in prewar families, and the instant and changing nature of American culture, has left these people with a sense of anomie, that is, rootlessness and restlessness described by Emil Durkheim, typical of people who are on the margin or cusp of society and generational pattern in American society. The resultant lacuna has caused serious problems which affect not only that particular group but the stability and sense of security of American society itself.

While there is a crying need for this type of self-appreciation which comes from a knowledge of where one stands in time and place in American history, the appreciation of the other cultures which make up the "Nation of nations" which is America must be an integral part of education in ethnic history. One without the other could lead to a type of new group chauvinism which fragments into power movements and dominance of areas of social and economic mobility—this results ultimately in polarization and conflict.

It seems essential to us that some model and matrix of interdisciplinary studies be set up alongside the purely ethnic studies concept. None of the areas involved in telling history the way it was and is can be isolated in an attempt to play makeup ball and correct the inadequacies of the past. Social history, economics, cultural anthropology, sociology, social psychology, urbanology, and other related disciplines must be coordinated to offer a total picture of the process of American socialization and group acculturation—past, present, and future.

With the modest amount of moneys requested in the bill, it would seem essential to immediately fund already existing programs in public and private universities and centers of studies, so that teachers on the elementary and secondary levels may be trained as soon as possible. Depth research into the nature of group life as well as the telling of the stories of native in-migrants and foreign immigrants, their causes, similarities and differences, and their interrelationships will come from responsible academic facilities already geared to do this type of work. This type of program should come from the top and filter down to the educational agencies most concerned with the education of the young. Without their cooperation and scholarly research, we could easily perpetuate the type of simplistic history we have perpetrated upon the young—the chauvinism of the nonexistent melting pot.

In order to bring the question into a broader context, we endorse the American Jewish Committee's proposal for the establishment of a National Institute on Group Life as suggested in testimony given before this committee on February 18, 1970, by Irving M. Levine, director of urban projects for the American Jewish Committee.

We feel that all should keep before their eyes the charge of "historical amnesia" levied by a staff report of the President's Commission

on the Causes and Prevention of Violence on the question of group conflict in America:

As probably the most ethnically and culturally pluralistic nation in the world, the United States has functioned less as a nation of individuals than of groups. The myth of the melting pot has obscured the great degree to which Americans have historically identified with their subnational citizenship through their myriad subnational affiliations. This has meant inevitable group competition, friction, conflict.

The cosponsors of this bill are to be commended for recognizing the multiethnic composition of the American population. We hope that the Congress will take steps toward the implementation of the educational action program outlined and implicit in this forward-looking act.

The Federal Government's role in encouraging the knowledge and appreciation of every man's culture and that of his neighbor cannot but have a positive and far-reaching effect upon the role and contribution of ethnic groups in this country, thereby enriching it and blessing it far more than can ever be imagined.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is an excellent statement, and I was very pleased to see the depth of understanding that you have put into that statement. I get the feeling that everybody is now engaged in the most popular parlor game of what has happened to America. I see where the coverpiece on the current issue of Time is "Why Nothing Seems To Work Anymore," and it seems as though we are engaged in a massive challenging of some of the phenomena that created this country.

The more I listen to witnesses who have appeared before this committee, the more I am convinced that the basic problem in this country is that we have tried to deny our ethnicity, as you have pointed out. We have engaged in a noble experiment of trying to put 200 million human beings into a melting pot, and trying to make them something that they are not. We have never really tried to tell the American people anything about themselves. I am aware of the influence of the predominant white Anglo-Saxon Protestant ethos that has somewhat been imposed upon every person in this country, whether he wants it or not.

It does seem to me that the hearings before this committee have zeroed in on what may well be the underlying cause of the turmoil. As I have said in my own statement, a lot of our young people are seeking some kind of identity because they have not been really apprised about themselves and their own background. So I am particularly interested in your statement that you think there ought to be in the centers a cross-fertilization of information on group life, rather than confining the study precisely to any one particular specialized ethnic community. I would like you to expand on that.

Father ASCIOLLA. I don't know the mechanics of how that could work, Congressman, but I do know that it would be extremely difficult to decide which ethnic group you are going to study. It would depend upon neighborhood or locality or regional clusters of ethnic groups. Then, there isn't enough research on many ethnic groups anyway. Going vertically, just studying one kind of ethnic group in one particular area, I could see as being eventually divisive in the worst way.

my worst fears would be realized as being divisive, to isolate that group from the rest of the experience of the other ethnic groups, either in the area or in the country.

So I would think you would have to bring to bear on ethnic studies the entire gamut of interdisciplinary things which deal with the role of the ethnics as a group in itself, its relationship with others; and then, of course, you have the other big division of religious division. So that an ethnic, for instance an Italian American lower white middle-class person who is making between \$7,500 and \$12,000 a year, might be a Catholic. He might be a low middle-class, and he is Italian. Therefore, there are various pressures that are brought to bear on him because of his social class, because of his cultural background, and because of his religion in this mosaic of American life.

So I think you would have to bring economics and the whole gamut of the disciplines to try to understand what group life is really all about anyway, besides just the ethnic group life. I don't know if I make myself clear.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I can appreciate the need for National Institute on Group Life and I think we ought to have something like that. But we would not want to delete from the main thrust of this modest proposal here, and that is to try and develop resource material on the various ethnic groups that make up the mosaic of America.

My fear is, that when you move into the tangent of inter-group activity, the tendency will be to somewhat supplement development of material on a group. I would hope that as a corollary to these ethnic centers, there would be either within the institutions or somewhere an effort to bring about some correlation between what is being done; and also, it would seem to me, that in the centers themselves there ought to be some discussion and some material developed on how each group fits into the total.

As I say, my problem with emphasis on National Institute on Group Life is that it would then become an apparatus to emphasize that particular aspect, which I think is extremely important and should be done. But right now, as I move through the country and I talk to various educators, elementary and secondary teachers, they tell me that their greatest need is the basic resource material.

Father ASCIOLLA. Yes, I would agree with you, Congressman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You can go through this whole country and it is amazing how little material you can find about the Italian community, Americans of Italian descent; and, as you know, no group in this country has suffered a greater injustice in terms of outright distortion. You can go into the hustings of America and it is abominable what impressions the people have of an American citizen who happens, by circumstance or happenstance to have an Italian name, simply because of the films that they have seen or late movies on the TV that they have seen, or the kind of press they have seen.

So the point I make here is that it would be my hope that these centers would concentrate on development, source material, film slides, and film strips. Then I would hope that somebody would undertake the job of trying to cross-fertilize the material being generated by these centers into an even broader application in what you quite properly call attention to here, the need for a greater awareness of group activity and intergroup relationships.

Father ASCIOLLA. I would agree with you. I think that is an eventual kind of thing. I think within the center, which would be on the university level—and I think it has to start there—that some interdisciplinary kind of situation, some mechanism could be set up so that the group would not be studied in isolation. I don't know how many other groups. I wouldn't want to replace this kind of act with bringing into the broader context of National Institute on Group Life. I think that is an eventual thing. But some sort of machinery so that casual relationships; and necessarily this would be a part of telling stories of different ethnic groups and telling it the way it should be told—that relationship between, for instance, the Italian and Jew in New York.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is the whole purpose of this legislation, at least to develop an awareness that there is this kind of phenomena in America. I really can't cease to be astounded by the fact that the most polyglot nation in the world has almost totally ignored its family. My colleague Mr. Ruth is a school teacher. You look at the curriculum today in the average school and you have children growing up as Americans totally oblivious of the heterogeneous makeup of their country. Then you ask yourself why do we have turmoil and why do we have all of the strange phenomena and why does Time Magazine have to ask at this late date why is everything all of a sudden going wrong.

I think everything is going wrong because we have denied to the American individual the basic knowledge about himself. That is what this bill is designed to overcome.

Mr. Ruth?

Mr. RUTH. Father, I am most grateful for your testimony and it is an excellent statement that you gave us and we are very grateful that you took the time to come. I hope you will let the organization that you represent know that we appreciate your testimony. I am grateful for your appearance.

Father ASCIOLLA. I want to thank you again for the mere recognition of the fact that America is multiethnic and we appreciate it extremely. We can't say enough, because it is the beginning of something very essential in American education.

Mr. PUCINSKI. It is an interesting thing now. The Soviet Union is a nation of many states, many nationalities. They have the Georgians and various others, and interestingly enough, in the Soviet Union they encourage the cultural identity of each of these groups. But then, of course, they bring them into their single political structure or governmental structure or whatever you want to call it. They, as a matter of fact, encourage friendly competition among the various ethnic groups of the Soviet Union. This has brought about better understanding, friendly relationships among the various ethnic groups. And, while I think everybody knows how I feel about political structure in the Soviet Union, it is rather interesting that they have capitalized on the diversity of their people by emphasizing the diversity. They have really brought them closer together.

We, on the other hand, in this country try to sweep them under the rug and deny it. And I think that a lot of these latent hostilities that we see in people generally, sometimes we think only in terms of problems between the races in America. I think that you have brought up a good point when you talked about the executive suite being closed to

all but the chosen few in this country. I think this is a subject that is going to become more and more discussed in America.

Why is it that you can walk through some of the big corporations of this country and you look over the corporate structure and you find a predominance of one category of people? I don't mind telling you I have dinner very often with executives and presidents of the corporations, and they look at my name and they say, "Why, you have a Polish background."

I say, "Yes, I do." They say, "They are hard workers, they are the best workers we have in our plants."

I say, "I am very grateful to you for that, but how many of them are executives?" Then they kind of blush 14 different shades of red and they say, "I don't think we have any."

I say, "Why? If they are good workers, how come?"

So these are the kinds of things that I think you have brought up which I think a better understanding among people would help solve.

Thank you very much.

Our next witness is Mr. Karl Sitko, German American National Congress, Inc.

Mr. Sitko, I am very grateful to have you here. I won't repeat all of the things I have said, because I think you know essentially what the purpose of this legislation is. I am very pleased to see the German American National Congress represented at these hearings. This is a group that has brought a great deal of cultural enrichment to this country, and yet, like so many other groups, it gets lost somewhere along the line and young Americans often have distorted views of people of German background. When they learn the contributions German Americans make to this country, they understand, perhaps, and consequently, learn more about themselves.

We are very pleased to have you here, Mr. Sitko.

STATEMENT OF KARL H. SITKO, PRESIDENT, GERMAN AMERICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, INC., WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. SITKO. Congressman Pucinski and Congressman Ruth.

Yesterday night I was informed by my national headquarters that your letter arrived asking us for a position paper. We regret to inform you that we are not able to present it now, but we promise that we will do it within 7 days' period.

As a representative of the German American National Congress, I would like to state that the full meeting of the German American Congress directors endorses the bill fully. However, the position paper in detail will be worked out within 7 days. We would like to recommend especially new initiative in this matter, and we appreciate it more because you, as president of the Polish American Organization, are one of them who can do the most for bringing up the heritage issue in front of the United States people.

We would like also to inform you that on December 25, 1949, the German American National Congress organized the Heritage Group Council for Citizenship Education and opened the Washington office, which will be cooperating with you helping you wherever we can.

Thank you.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We certainly hope that we will be in close contact with your heritage office and, Mr. Sitko, I am very grateful that you will be presenting an informal position paper. I regret that we gave you such brief notice. What I was trying to do was conclude these hearings, because we are starting very important hearings tomorrow on the President's proposal for restructuring the impact aid bill. So I wanted to conclude these hearings so the committee can mark this bill and move it on its way.

But I am grateful to you for being here this morning. I do hope that in your position paper you will be able to elaborate on some of the work that you envision that could be done in the German American cultural community, because there is no question but that German Americans constitute a very large segment of, as Father Asciolla said, the mosaic of America. We will look forward to your position paper. I would like to insert in the record after your testimony a statement from your organization in support of the legislation. I do want to thank you for being here this morning, even on such short notice.

Mr. SITKO. I would like also to mention, if I am permitted, that I also took it on myself to form, as an American, an American organization of nationwide importance, which is the Federation and a professor is here also at the hearing. I called him up. I think he will also cooperate. And furthermore, by October this year we are calling an all German American conference to Washington, which is sponsored by German American National Congress.

At this time, we hope you will be our honored guest.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Very good.

Mr. RUTH?

Mr. RUTH. I would like to emphasize, as you have said, Mr. Sitko, your position will be just as effective by presenting the paper. And I am most appreciative of your coming on this short notice.

Mr. SITKO. Thank you very much.

(The statement referred to follows:)

GERMAN-AMERICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, INC.,
DEUTSCH-AMERICAN NATIONAL KONGRESS,
Chicago, Ill., March 31, 1970.

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,

Chairman, Subcommittee on General Education, House Education and Labor Committee, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PUCINSKI: Confirming the oral testimony of our Washington representative, Mr. Karol H. Sitko, before the General Subcommittee on Education Hearings on H.R. 14910 held on March 19, 1970, we submit in addition the following statement:

A. The German American National Congress is an umbrella organization for German American Groups whose purposes are civic, educational, charitable, cultural and religious. The German American National Congress organized the Heritage Group Council for Citizenship Education with the purpose to enact the preamble of German American National Congress' goals:

- To unite all German Americans.
- To preserve the German language, culture and customs.
- To develop curriculum materials for use in elementary and secondary schools which deal with history, geography, literature, art, music and general culture of the German Heritage groups.
- To provide training for persons utilizing all teaching about German American Heritage throughout the United States.
- To educate for Americanism and against anti-Americanism through appropriate education materials collected, prepared and distributed by the Heritage Group Council for Citizenship Education.

To sponsor National, State, professional meetings for the launching and implementation of nonpartisan programs which enhance our citizens' better understanding of all basic American freedom concepts,

To sponsor and promote German American Heritage studies and research through various institutions of higher learning,

To involve and sponsor German American foundations in their study projects,

To sponsor German American awards and recognition to individuals and organizations for their outstanding contributions to Americanism,

To sponsor publications of any kind contributing to a better understanding of the German American Heritage contribution to America's achievement,

To sponsor commemorative awards, honoring Germany contributions to America's achievement in literature, politics and sciences (see the medallion on pioneers of space and rocketry, Dr. Wernher von Braun, Professor Oberth and Willy Ley, issued and minted in 1970).

B. Witnessing and studying the testimony before the General Subcommittee on Education Hearings on H.R. 14910, the German American National Congress fully endorses the aforementioned bill H.R. 14910 and commends the Chairman and all co-sponsors: Mr. Pucinski, Mr. Dent, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Hathaway, Mr. Powell, Mr. Murphy of Illinois, Mr. Anderson of California, Mr. Conyers, Mr. Derwinski, Mr. Farbstein, Mrs. Heckler of Massachusetts, Mr. Matsunaga, Mr. Price of Illinois and Mr. Roybal for recognizing the need of the Federal Government's role in encouraging and promoting the long overdue Heritage Group Studies in our multi-ethnic country.

ETHNIC, CULTURAL, AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITY PROMOTES GENUINE UNITY OF PURPOSE IN A MULTI-NATIONAL SOCIETY

We especially endorse the outstanding statement of Rev. Paul J. Asciolella, C.S. Special Projects Director Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans and Editor, "Fra Noi" Italian American News, presented as testimony to the Subcommittee on General Education, House Education and Labor Committee.

C. The German American National Congress is actively engaged in organizing a network of Heritage Study Centers.

The German American National Congress foresees for those and related projects an annual appropriation of at least \$500,000.00.

The German American National Congress will present in due time a complete documentation as to the planning and implementation of its Heritage Group Centers for Citizenship Education.

The German American National Congress and its Washington office will do everything in its power to promote the passage of the bill H.R. 14910.

Respectfully yours,

Walther A. Kollacks, National President, German-American National Congress, and Chairman, Heritage Group Council for Citizenship Education; Joseph Gruender, 1st Vice President, German-American National Congress, and Director and Coordinator, Heritage Group Council for Citizenship Education; Eva Bauer, Secretary, German-American National Congress; Karol H. Sitka, Executive Vice-Chairman, Heritage Group Council for Citizenship Education, a Unit of the German-American National Congress.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Our next witness is Father Andrew Greeley of the National Opinion Research Center.

Father Greeley is author of "The Education of American Catholics," and one of the Nation's leading authorities on the whole subject of ethnicity, some controversial, some not so controversial.

We are very pleased and very privileged to have you here. I would like to advise my colleague, Mr. Ruth, that Father Greeley has an impressive reputation today, in this field. He is probably one of the best informed citizens in this whole field of ethnicity. He has done a great deal of research, has written a number of articles and books, and has been widely quoted all over the country.

**STATEMENT OF FATHER ANDREW GREELEY, PROGRAM DIRECTOR,
NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF CHI-
CAGO, CHICAGO, ILL.**

Father GREELEY. And even occasionally misquoted.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I have noticed some of your quotes can always be tailored to fit the particular needs of the particular author. And then I see you have to chase them and straighten the thing out.

Father Greeley, we are very pleased to have you here. I know that we couldn't consider this legislation without your contribution, because of your rich knowledge in this field.

Father GREELEY. One of the most extraordinary events of our time has been the resurgence of tribalism in a supposedly secularized and technocratic world. Science and economic rationalization had been expected to reduce, if not eliminate, man's attachment to ancient ties of common ancestry, common land and common faith, but suddenly ties of race, nationality, and religion seem to have taken on new importance.

It may be assumed that the survival of tribalism in the new nations—or, to use the currently fashionable phrase, "the third world"—is not too surprising. That Malays would fight with Chinese, Hindus with Moslems, Ibos with Hausas, Greeks with Turks, and Jews with Arabs may be simply the result of the fact that one or both partners to the feud have not been sufficiently "westernized" or "modernized." But Welsh and Scottish separatism have grown stronger in Great Britain and the fires of Irish nationalism are burning as fiercely in the streets of Derry as they did in Dublin at the time of the Easter Rising. Canada is threatened with disruption as strife between its English and French speaking groups grows more fierce. Belgium is torn by the battle between Walloons and Flemings. The Tyrolean "extremists" plot revolt against Italy, Bretons speak of independence from France, Catalonians and Basques are restive under what they take to be Castilian oppression. The Russian task is eased by the conflict between Czech and Slovak. And American blacks turn dramatically away from their century-long battle for integration and demand black separatism.

It is rather astonishing how skillful man is at using what are frequently relatively minor differences as a basis for conflict and violence. Facial shape, eye color, accent, length of nose, hue of skin, style of dress, arrangement of hair, presence or absence of beard, unimportant religious doctrine, drinking and eating habits—all have been the occasion for enmity and hatred, not to say war and death. That which is different is not only a threat but inferior and evil. While we have some inkling of the personality dynamics that turn differentiation into an occasion for conflict, we yet know relatively little about how human beings come to see diversity as an occasion for pleasure and rejoicing. "Different" seems necessarily to mean at least "inferior" for most men and it is only with considerable effort that we can come to see it as meaning "equally good" and even more effort to describe it as "splendid."

The complexities of modern society have made it imperative that, both within nations and across national lines, men live in relative peace and harmony with those who come from different backgrounds. Yet fear and distrust of those who are different does not seem to have

abated; quite the contrary, despite the supposed cultural leveling caused by technocracy, the mass media, rock music, and Coca-Cola tribal passions seem to have increased rather than decreased in the past decade.

Furthermore, while one need not agree with Marshall McLuhan that we are entering a new tribal era, one is still forced to note that the emphasis on feeling, emotion, and primordial relationships which is so much a part of contemporary avant garde culture would suggest that tribalism is not likely to diminish for the rest of this century. As one member of the NORC staff has remarked, "Modern man seems determined to have his cake and eat it, too, to combine the affluence of the technocratic society with the intimacy and social support of the peasant commune. He seems bent on trying to reestablish, by free contract, the clan."

There are two popular reactions to this resurgence of tribalism or, to use a more neutral word, religioethnic pluralism. The first reaction—and the most frequent among liberal academica—is to lament it and to insist on the basic similarity of all human beings as the only possible basis for unity among men. The second reaction, heard from both the radicals and the conservatives, is to insist on the right, and indeed the obligation, of men to be different from one another—particularly, if they want to be different.

The philosophy on which the present testimony is based refuses to accept these alternatives as an accurate description of the issue. We assume that diversity, and particularly diversity rooted in such primitive human ties as common religion and common ancestry, is part of the human condition. We also assume that there is enough in common across religioethnic lines that members of various groups can live in peace and harmony with one another if their insecurities and fears can be quieted. We further contend that it is the role of scholarship to probe more deeply into the question of what kinds of conditions facilitate religioethnic harmony and what kinds of conditions exacerbate conflict.

Finally, we suspect that a comparative study of one's own cultural traditions together with the cultural traditions of others in an atmosphere relatively free from the clamor of battle may be an extremely important prelude to harmony within diversity. Or, to put the matter more bluntly, we are inclined to suspect that a man who is sure of his own cultural identity will be much better equipped to understand the different cultural identity of others.

We certainly do not intend to argue that every man must have a religioethnic identity nor that such identities must be created for, and even forced on, those who have no need and no desire for them. We are simply asserting that in the Nation and the world there are very considerable numbers of people for whom questions of religioethnic identity are still very important and that the way in which this question is answered will have a notable impact on whether human society continues to be possible. Even if the present attempt of large numbers of people to fashion part of their identity out of religious or racial or national pasts proves to be unsuccessful, the attempt itself is still an extraordinary event well worth careful study.

Those interested in the study of the acculturation of immigrant groups in the United States usually distinguish between two models

that have been used to examine the process. The "melting pot" model assumes that the acculturation processes are so powerful that differences among various immigrant groups rather quickly disappear as a new homo Americanus replaces his ethnic ancestors, a man who, as Peter Rossi once observed, speaks radio standard English and behaves rather like a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant.

The "cultural pluralism" model, on the other hand, assumes that while the various immigrant groups work on the same—or similar—jobs, wear the same clothes, eat the same food—save on ceremonial events—and watch the same TV commercials, they still will choose their most intimate relationships from among members of the same group.

When it comes to seeking a spouse, a doctor, a lawyer, a clergyman, a construction contractor, a precinct captain, a poker—or bridge—partner or a neighbor, there remains in American society—or at least in its large cities—an inclination to seek for someone of whom it can be said, "He is our kind of people." Within the cultural pluralism tradition there is some difference of opinion as to whether the religioethnic groups are simply large "interest groups" held together by common political goals or whether, in fact, cultural traditions from the past do manage to survive. Glazer and Moynihan, in their "Beyond the Melting Pot"—which has sold 300,000 copies—incline to the former position, while NORC research suggests that there may be something to be said for the latter.

While both the melting pot and the cultural pluralism models can be purely descriptive, they have in fact usually been normative. At one time, the major emphasis in America seemed to be that the immigrants should become as "American as everyone else," but in the last four decades it has been argued that the best of the national traditions ought to be preserved. Indeed, sometimes it was even asserted that the immigrants or their children were "more American" than the native stock. In Moynihan's classic description of the McCarthy era—Joseph not Eugene—"Harvard men were to be investigated and Fordham men were to do the investigating."

There can be no doubt that the cultural pluralism model has triumphed over the melting pot model in the official theories of American society. Little research has been done on American nationality groups and the patterns of interaction among them. I noticed with considerable interest the other day there is a sociological reader coming out about different ethnic groups. Publishing houses want to jump on this bandwagon. In this reader there is nothing about the Irish, and the segment on Polish national group is taken from W. I. Thomas' "Polish Peasants in Europe and America," written in early 1920. It is not done in such fashion because the authors of the reader do not want more recent material, but because there is not more recent material. I would assert that this failure to do research on ethnic groups is most unfortunate.

The Black power movement, instead of being seen as a repetition of the power struggles of other American groups, is taken to be a temporary phase; and the so-called white ethnic backlash is attributed to social class rather than ethnic factors. NORC has collected conclusive evidence that there are wide variations in attitudes toward other groups among American ethnics which cannot be explained by social class. In

other words, even the precinct captains, real estate dealers, physicians, building contractors and clergymen are very well aware of the religio-ethnic diversity of large American cities, and the scholarly and policy-making elites have ignored this diversity.

We would assert that this failure is most unfortunate. Given the fact that the American Nation has been put together in a rather short time, as human history goes, from an incredibly diverse collection of peoples, the astonishing phenomenon is not that the society is as torn by discord, as it is frequently, but that it survives at all. As James Coleman has recently pointed out, scholars have paid little attention to the study of trust. Yet trust—frequently of a weak and battered variety—has made possible the broad pluralistic consensus which has thus far survived in the country. Perhaps the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers will study the conditions which facilitate trust and a closely related attribute of human behavior—the ability to have sympathy and compassion for those who are different. The study of the survival of pluralism in American society may provide insights into the possibility of a pluralistic world or, to use the fashionable term, a pluralistic global village.

With this as a philosophical background, I wish to strongly support the proposed legislation contained in H.R. 14910. It seems to me that such legislation will accomplish two important goals:

1. It will help members of given ethnic communities to better understand their own heritages. Ethnic pride then will not be founded on a sense of being different from or against others, but rather on a sense of having something positive to contribute to the larger society. Furthermore, a sophisticated understanding of one's own tradition will enable one to recognize both the lights and the shadows in that tradition and to be more tolerant of other traditions.

Thus, if more American Irish were aware of quasi-revolutionary groups like the Molly Maguires—one presumes that they will be in the near future, thanks to the cinema—and street gangs like the Regan Colts, they might be better able to understand why other ethnic communities spawn similar groups. Similarly, if the Irish Americans had more detailed knowledge about their ancestors' freedom fight they might be more sympathetic to the struggle for human dignity in which other groups are engaged. Miss Devlin is not exactly a person without a tradition behind her.

2. It will make it possible for many Americans, operating from secure confidence in their own traditions, to acquire sympathetic and sensitive understanding of other traditions. When white students engage in Black studies, Black students in Polish studies, Polish students in Irish studies, and Irish students in Italian studies, the vision of a healthy cultural pluralism in our society will become a reality.

I would also make one recommendation with regard to the bill. It is my conviction that as the legislation presently stands the ethnic centers will be hard put to fulfill their mission, because of the lack of basic research data on most American ethnic groups. In my own studies I have been appalled about how little we know about the past history of many groups in this country. Furthermore, funds for basic research either sponsored by the Government or by private foundations are practically nonexistent.

There are many graduate students who are extremely interested in ethnic studies, but they receive little in the way of support from senior faculty members whose research interests normally lie in other areas, nor from those agencies which normally fund basic research.

I should therefore like to see the proposed legislation amended to include funds for basic research on ethnic groups as well as for the dissemination of educational material about such groups.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Father Greeley, that is an excellent point that you make at the conclusion of your testimony. I, of course, am presuming that this bill would provide for research, because it is only after you have done the research that you can try and prepare educational material. But if the language is not sufficiently clear, then I am sure that we will be able to clarify that for you. I think you are absolutely right.

For instance, it is astonishing that the books that you referred to are using material assembled in 1920, and it is true. I noticed some of the research that you have done, when I walked through the Polish Museum in Chicago. It is really very depressing to see how little research has been done in recent years. The same thing is true of the various other ethnic groups, and even on a subject as current as immigration in the city there is still very little being done in basic research.

Here and there you find a book being published that might leave some impressions, but overall there hasn't been the kind of scholarly approach that you suggest. Therefore, I can assure you that the language in the bill will be strengthened. I think it is an excellent point that you make.

I am wondering if you would comment on what I suspect is one of the basic problems in America, which is denial of ethnic differences, a position that seems to have become popular since the end of World War II. There was a drive, particularly in the intellectual community of this country, to abolish differences. Unless you were 100 percent American you were really un-American. I never really knew what is a hundred percent American. I still don't, as a matter of fact.

Father GREELEY. There are a number of things that may have happened. This is another matter that could be the object of basic research. One theory advanced to me by sociologists, was that at least within our field the men who shaped discipline in the post World War II era were themselves the products of ethnic families and neighborhoods, and were quite ashamed of this; that they had moved out of these ethnic communities into the world of the big university and felt that to be fully accepted in this world they had to leave the ethnic thing behind. So they engaged in a systematic denial of it, at least in part because of their own personality problems. And at that point in the late 1940's, one or two academic departments in the country could shape the development of sociology.

After the collapse of the University of Chicago's School of Sociology, one looks in vain between 1945 and 1956 in literature for any reference to ethnic groups. You look up under the heading "ethnicity," and you will see things about Alaskan Indians and African tribes, and something about Indians in the American Southwest, but nothing about Jews, Poles, Italians, Irish, Scandinavians in the big cities of the Northeast. In a sense, it may have been something that these people were too close to to be able to look at objectively.

Very interestingly, the kind of students who are most interested in studying it now are people who are third and fourth generation, rather than second generation.

Mr. PUCINSKI. It is interesting you would say that. I gave a number of speeches on that sometime back, in which I stressed the point of conflict of cultures between youngsters born in this country of foreign parents. In that first generation there was a gap. I know when I was a boy and I got on the streetcar and my mother started talking Polish to me, I turned various hues of red because I didn't think it was right. As I grew up I discovered there was really nothing wrong with it, but there was I think a tendency to run from these things. The best proof of that is that people change their names and try to deny their ethnic background. I think that you are absolutely right in your statement that after these conflicts have disappeared between the immigrant and first generation Americans, second and third and fourth generations start asking the question, "Who am I?" And they have to ask that question.

I noticed the most fierce nationalism was expressed last Saturday on State Street in Chicago by eighth generation Irish in St. Patrick's Day parade. And there was nothing wrong with that. Young Americans participated who are eight or nine generations removed from Ireland, and yet you find the greatest ethnic pride being expressed by those young people. They tell me we have a better parade in New York and Chicago than they do in Dublin.

Father GREELEY. That reminds me of a story. I was visiting a young friend of mine who is attending a Catholic university in Denver. On the board there was a notice saying "Irish Club will meet next Sunday." I said, "Peggy, do you belong to that club?"

She said, "I am the president."

I said, "What does the club do?"

She said, "We have meetings and parties, and on St. Patrick's night we have the biggest dance of the year."

I said, "When was the Easter Rising?"

She didn't know. I said, "Do you know what the Sinn Fein was?"

She said, "I never heard of that."

I said, "What about the Irish Republic Army?"

She said, "You know I am a Democrat" the point being that she is very Irish still and that the kind of person she marries, number of children, political and social values, religion, are all going to be strongly affected by her Irishness. And yet she has no awareness of the traditions and doesn't care about the issues of the past. So it does survive in strange transmitted ways.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The point I was wondering if you would comment on, because of your excellent experience in this field, is, can we find any correlation between some of the turmoil that exists within our own Nation today and the absence of educational programs and materials to let people know more about themselves and know more about their fellow Americans?

Father GREELEY. I think what I would like to see particularly for young Americans growing up in cities which are really polyglot, I would like to see everybody coming out of the streets, understanding their own tradition and at least one another very well, so they can get some sense of both diversity and similarity.

I had a young friend who taught for a while in the police academy in Chicago. His technique was to bring into class each day a problem and say, "Now how would you handle that in your family, if that kind of problem was raised, and why would you handle it that way?" So he would hear from Polish, Irish, Black, and Czech. And in this kind of discussion each group began to understand how others would react, but had some sympathy why they would react to a problem of a young person wanting to marry out of the group.

I think that kind of educational technique or something along those lines is going to be increasingly necessary in a society where people with different backgrounds have to develop fairly high levels of cooperation if the society is going to keep on functioning.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I don't understand one thing. I have been on this education committee for 12 years and chairman of this committee for several of those years, and I have studied the whole spectrum of American education during these years and I can't understand why something this obvious would have totally escaped the educational community.

Do you have any suggestions?

Father GREELEY. In the final analysis, I have to agree with you. I don't understand why either. When Pete Rossi and I started to talk about studying this stuff 6 or 7 years ago, the sociological community looked at us like we were crazy. The typical survey research questionnaire, even today, does not ask the question about nationality background. It is for some reason that I really can't fully comprehend, the question of religious, ethnic, and national geographic diversity seems to be one that people repress.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Particularly in the social science departments, and I am trying to find out why. The question undoubtedly will come up as we consider this legislation, "Is this necessary, or are there enough facilities now? Are there programs now to do the things that we propose in this bill?"

Would you care to give us a judgment as to whether or not there is anything in the existing programs that can give the emphasis and stimuli to this direction?

Father GREELEY. The only thing that I am aware of that exists is a black studies program. They represent a first step in this direction. Beyond that, I am unaware of anything.

There is the little professional societies around the country. Father Paul mentioned Italian American Historical Society. There is a Society for Irish Studies, at least half who are not Irish. These are little groups of scholars interested in the field, but who again lack research facilities or funds to do major and basic research.

So I would say that by and large you and your colleagues could be content with the conviction that this is pioneering legislation.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The other aspect of this legislation—and I wonder if you would care to comment on that—calls for teacher institutes to try and develop some teachers who can participate in this kind of educational program.

What is the status, as far as you know, of teachers and their capability of dealing with these subjects now?

Father GREELEY. I just have impressions, Congressman. And I think they are afraid of it because they know how sensitive it is, and they

know how inadequately prepared they are to cope with it. So I would think most teachers would be very frightened. If you have a classroom made up of white students, but of vastly different ethnic backgrounds, and you happen to be from one of them yourself, you would be very much afraid of what happened.

I remember giving a talk once at a meeting, and my subject was the Irish and I said very critical things about the Irish, enough perhaps to get me banned from the St. Patrick's Day parade. When it was over, a nun, a black nun, got up and denounced me really passionately for my Irish pride. She hadn't heard what I said. It wasn't malice on her part, but that an Irish would speak about Irish, he had to be speaking from a position of pride.

So, if teachers are afraid of handing this sort of material, I think perhaps there is some reason to be afraid. It is very touchy, and a teacher can only get over her fears to handle it when she knows she is sophisticated in the material and knows she has techniques available to her for batting down the tension in the classroom. It won't be easy.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Would you care to comment on the observation made by Father Paul that once you have established identity in particular ethnic groups, the next step, of course, is to try to use this material on an intergroup basis.

Father GREELEY. I would agree completely with that, Congressman. I don't know how it is going to happen yet, but I think it would be an excellent idea.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Father Greeley, I am most grateful to you for being with us this morning. That is an excellent statement that you have made to the committee. The more I hear this testimony, I have two regrets. One regret is, that we have so many bills moving through our committee that our committee is in six different places at one time and they have to rely on reading the record. But they really miss, I think, a great deal by not being able to be here to hear your testimony, as well as Father Paul's and some of the other testimony.

Although I can assure you, before we will start marking this bill up we will study this record very closely. I think the testimony regarding this bill is very impressive. I was not aware of the dimension of opportunities in this bill when we first introduced this legislation. The resourceful and eloquent testimony has really opened our eyes. And your testimony today, Father Greeley, elevated the caliber of this testimony to another plateau in underscoring the need for something like this.

I have read a draft of the excellent paper which you will be presenting to the American Jewish Committee in May and I would like to have it inserted in the record at this point.

(The information follows:)

THE POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

(By Andrew M. Greeley)

It is the purpose of this paper to suggest that the survival of ethnic groups in American society, however surprising, may turn out to have very strong positive functions for the future development of that society. To defend the suggestion, however, I shall have to call into question much of the official wisdom of pop sociology and indeed many of the more basic assumptions of "scientific" sociology. To make my case, I shall have to begin at the very beginning of the analysis of human social relationships—with Thomas Hobbes' as yet unresolved

question as to what makes moral order and social order possible. What, indeed, is the cement which binds society together?

It is the great theme of classical sociology that in the last centuries Western society has moved from *gemeinschaft* to *gesellschaft*, from community to association, from primary group to secondary group, from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity, from traditional authority to bureaucratic authority, from primordial drives to contractual drives. Weber, Durkheim, Tonnies, Tönnies, and Talcott Parsons have merely arranged different orchestrations on this architectonic theme.

Under the impact of rationalization, bureaucratization, industrialization, and urbanization, it is argued, the old ties of blood, faith, land, and consciousness of kind have yielded to the rational structural demands of the technological society. In the conceptual framework of Professor Parsons' famous pattern variables, the immense social changes of the last two centuries have moved the race or at least the North Atlantic component of it from the particularistic to the universal, from ascription to achievement, from the diffuse to the specific. And other observers see a shift from the mythological to the religionless, from the sacred to the profane to the secular, from the folk to the urban. In other words, in the organized society at the present time, it is the rational demands of the organization itself—or the organizations themselves—which provide the structure that holds society together. Nonrational and primordial elements, if they survive at all, survive in the "private sphere" or in the "interstices." The old primordial forces may still be somewhat relevant in choosing a wife or a poker or bridge partner, but they have no meaning in the large corporate structures—business, labor, government, education, or even, for that matter, church. In the private sphere and in the interstices, the nonrational and primordial ties are seen as everywhere in retreat. Ethnic groups are vanishing, religion is losing its hold, men and women are becoming so mobile that they need no geographic roots. Professor Bennis argues that there is emerging a "temporary society" made up of those members of the social elite for whom geographic, institutional and interpersonal stability are no longer necessary. These men, according to Professor Bennis, move from place to place, occupation to occupation, and relationship to relationship without feeling any sense of personal or physical dislocation.

Wherever they go, they are immediately able to relate intensely to their fellows, and when the time comes to terminate a set of relationships, they then enter into a new set equally intense but equally transitory. There is some suggestion in the *Temporary Society* that these new elites might even be capable of temporary marriage relationships. Whatever is to be said about the merits, moral, biological, or aesthetic of the temporary society, it is certainly the ultimate in the pilgrimage from *gemeinschaft* to *gesellschaft*. The lives of the denizens of the temporary society, are completely shaped by the functional necessities of technological industrialism.¹

In this official model of classical sociology, then, the primordial is to be seen as on the way out. There may be some disagreement as to the speed of the evolutionary process, but nonetheless, secular man, technological man, religionless man, temporary man is seen as the man of the future. He is the one who occupies the critical positions in the government, in the media, in the university faculties, in the large corporate businesses. He needs little in the way of roots, nothing in the way of transcendental faith, and, as far as the technostucture is concerned, precious little in the way of emotion. Professor John Schaar ironically describes the cognitive ideology of such a man. "Reality is that which is tangible, external, measurable, capable of being precisely conveyed to others; everything that is left over—and some might think that it is half of life—becomes curiously unreal or epiphenomenal. If it persists in its intrusions on the 'real' world, then it must be treated as trouble and those whose acts or motives are imbedded in the unreal world are treated as deviant cases in need of repair or reproof."²

Even if one does not wish to go quite that far in describing the pilgrimage from community to association, one still must admit that the implicit basic premises of most contemporary social analysis assume that the "public sphere" is the real world, that what goes on in the corporate structures is that which holds society together and that the primordial or the tribal are limited to certain

¹To make my own biases in the matter perfectly clear, if I had to choose between the temporary society and a commune, I wouldn't have much difficulty choosing the latter.

²John Schaar, "Reflections on Authority," *New American Review*, vol. 8, 1970, p. 671.

reactionary segments within the society and will even there be eradicated by a generation or two of college education.

The old right and the new left may disagree, but I think that an implicit value premise through much of this analysis: the rationalized society is not only the way things are but the way things should be. The primordial or pre-rational ties are seen as "unenlightened" and "reactionary." One need not discuss the current resurgence of interest in white ethnic groups very long without realizing that among many liberal academics there is a strong moral revulsion against ethnic groups. The term "white ethnic racist" is used much the same way as "damn Yankee" is used in the South. It becomes one word and indeed an epithet. An official of a national social work organization inviting me to give a speech at a meeting on the subject noted that "as far as I'm concerned, these people (white ethnics) are simply a barrier to social progress, though I suppose they have their own problems, too." And at the same conference a panel discussion about white ethnics labels them as "social conservatives." Serious discussions are held under the sponsorship of government agencies or private foundations in which the white ethnic "problem" is discussed as something about which "something must be done," and one hardly cannot speak to an academic group on the subject of ethnicity without some timid soul rising in the question period and wondering whether it might not even be immoral to discuss the question of ethnic groups since ethnicity stresses the things which separate men and we ought to be concerned about those things which unite them.

The bias in these reactions is apparent: the survival of the primordial is a social problem. The evolution from the nonrational to the rational, the sacred to the profane, the primordial to the contractual, the folk to the urban is seen not merely as a useful analytic model, but as profoundly righteous moral imperative. As some people have not yet completed their pilgrimages through this simple evolutionary model, obviously they are a social problem and "something must be done about them," such as, for example, seeing that their real income goes up at the rate of 5 per cent a year or providing day care centers for their neighborhoods. If one does enough such things for them, maybe then they or at least their children will some day become more enlightened and be just like us.

It is certainly not my intention to deny the great utility of the official model of classical sociology. Obviously, a great transformation has come over the North Atlantic world since 1750. I need only to visit Ballendrehid, County Mayo Island, to know that it was rather different from Chicago, Cook County, Illinois. The insight of the greats of the sociological tradition is extraordinarily valuable but the trouble with it as an analytic model is that there is a strong temptation either to ignore or treat as residual phenomena whatever can't be made to fit the model. I would be prepared to contend that it is the very elegance of the official model of classical sociology which has blinded us to an incredibly vast range of social phenomena which must be understood if we are to cope with the problems of contemporary America.

I would suggest, then, that there is another model which must be used either in conjunction with the official one or as the component of a more elaborate model which will integrate the two. According to this model, the basic ties of friendship, primary relationship, land, faith, common origin and consciousness of kind persist much as they did in the Ice Age. They are the very stuff out of which society is made and in their absence the corporate structures would collapse. These primordial, pre-rational bonds which hold men and women together have of course been transmuted by the changing context. The ethnic group, for example, did not even exist before the last of the nineteenth century. It came into existence precisely in order that the primordial ties of the peasant commune would somehow or other be salvaged through the immigration experience. But because the primordial ties have been transmuted does not mean that they have been eliminated. It simply means that they operate in a different context and perhaps in a different way. They are, according to this second model, every bit as decisive for human relationships as they were in the past. In fact, a strong case that could be made that one primordial relationship—that of marriage—has in one respect become far stronger than it ever was in the past, because the ties of interpersonal affection are now required rather more than less by marriage partners; and while they may appear structurally tenuous, such ties of affection can be far more demanding on the total personality than were the structural ties of the past.

To the extent that this model has validity, we have not witnessed a simple, unidimensional, and unidirectional evolution from *gemeinschaft* to *gessellschaft*. What has happened, rather, has been a tremendous complexification of society

with vast pyramids of corporate structures being erected on a substratum of primordial relationships. Since the primordial ties tend to be the infrastructure, or at least to look like the infrastructure to those who are interested primarily in corporate bureaucracies, it is possible to ignore them or at least to attribute to them minimal importance. One does not, after all, think about the foundation of the Empire State Building when one sees it soaring into the air above Manhattan Island—not at least unless one happens to be an engineer.

To the extent that this second model has any validity, one would be forced to conclude that the persistence of primordial bonds is not merely a social problem, but also a social asset. Communities based on consciousness of kind or common faith or common geography would be seen in this model not merely as residues of the past, but rather as basic subcomponent of the social structure. Membership in such communities would be seen as providing personal identity and social location for members as well as making available a pool of preferred role opposites whose availability would ease stress situations at critical junctures in modern living. In other words, collectivities grouped around such primordial bonds would be seen not merely as offering desirable cultural richness and variety, but also as basic pillars of support for the urban social structure.

A city government would view itself as fortunate in having large and diverse ethnic groups within its boundaries because such collectivities would prevent the cities from becoming a habitat for a "lonely crowd" or a "mass society." Psychologists and psychiatrists would be delighted with the possibilities of ethnic group membership providing social support and self-definition as an antidote to the "anomie" of the mass society. Or, another way of putting the same matter would be to say that to the extent the second model is a valid one, the lonely crowd and the mass society do not really exist.

But to what extent does the second model have any validity? My inclination would be to say that, if anything, much more research data can be fitted into the second model than into the first one. This paper would not be the appropriate place to review in great detail all the available evidence about the survival of the primordial, but one can at least list the principal research efforts. The now classic Hawthorne experiments of Elton Mayo and his colleagues demonstrated how decisive in the supposedly rationalized and formalized factory was the influence of informal friendship groups. Ruby Jo Reeves proved in the early 1940's that there had been no change in patterns of religious intermarriage for a half century and thirty years later the research done at the National Opinion Research Center on young college graduates indicates that denominational (which includes Baptists, Lutherans, Methodists, etc., as separate denominations) intermarriage is still not increasing in the United States. The *American Soldier*, studies of Samuel Stouffer and his colleagues, showed how decisive personal loyalty was in holding together the combat squad. The work of Morris Janowitz and Edward Shils proved that the *wehrmacht* began to fall apart only when the rank and file soldier began to lose faith in the paternalistic non-com who held his unit together.

The voting studies of Paul Lazarsfeld and his colleagues provide that voting decisions were not made by isolated individuals but rather by members of intimate primary groups; and the similar studies of Elihu Katz and others on marketing decisions and the use of innovative drugs showed how such decisions were strongly influenced by informal personal relationships. Will Herberg's classic, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew*, suggested a model explaining that religion is so important in the United States precisely because it provides self-definition and social location. James Q. Wilson's study of police discovered that sergeants of different ethnic groups have different administrative styles and the work of Edward Levine and others on the Irish as politicians have made clear—to those who are yet unaware of it—that the Irish have a highly distinctive political style (a political style, be it noted, that assumes the persistence and importance of primordial groups).

Manpower research done at NORC indicates that ethnicity is a moderately strong predictor of career choice. (Germans go into science and engineering, Jews into medicine and law, Irish into law, political science and history and foreign service.) Studies of hospital behavior show that different ethnic groups respond differently to pain in hospital situations. (The Irish deny it and the Italians exaggerate it.) The Banfield and Wilson school of political science emphasizes urban politics as an art of power brokerage among various ethnic and religious ethnic groups.

More recent research at NORC has shown that there is moderately strong correlation between ethnicity and a number of behavioral and attitudinal measures—even when social classes have held constant. Other research studies suggest that in large cities professional practice—medical, dental, real estate, construction—tend to be organized along religious or ethnic lines, and yet other work would indicate that some groups choose to create a form of self-segregation, even in the suburbs. Louis Wirth was right; there would indeed be a return to the ghetto but the ghetto would not be in Douglas Park, it would be in Skokie and Highland Park.

One could go on, but it hardly seems necessary. Weep not for *gemeinschaft*; it is still very much with us. On the contrary, the burden of evidence ought to be on those who claim to see it vanishing. When it is argued that at least among the social elites secular, technological, religionless man seems to dominate, we need only point out that precisely the offspring of these elites seem presently most interested in recreating the tribal in the world of the psychedelic, neo-sacral communes. The model of classical sociology obviously is not to be abandoned, but it must be freed from a simpleminded, evolutionary interpretation. Furthermore, it is even more necessary to divest the model from the moralistic overtones which it has acquired certainly in the world of pop sociology and, if I am not very much mistaken, either in the world of professional sociology. To assume that religious or ethnic or geographic ties are unenlightened, reactionary, or benighted, or obscurantist is to make a moral judgment for which there are no grounds in serious social analysis.

The issue of the two models is not by any means just a theoretical one for, if one uses only the first model, then the angry white ethnic groups are seen basically as a social problem. But if one uses also the second model, one might conclude that ethnic loyalty could be a strong, positive force which might make available vitality and vigor for the preservation and enrichment of urban life for all members of the city. Thus, I would hypothesize that if one takes as a dependent variable the propensity to desert the city, one would find in a strongly ethnic neighborhood a much lower score on that variable than one would in a cosmopolitan neighborhood. I would even go further and suggest that in an ethnic neighborhood under "threat" there would be less inclination to desert the city than there would be in a cosmopolitan neighborhood which was less threatened. And I have been told that in one study of the election in Gary, Indiana, it was discovered that Poles who are more strongly integrated into the Polish community were more likely to vote for Mayor Hatcher than Poles who were less integrated into the ethnic community (though, obviously, in any absolute numbers still not very likely to vote for him). There has been so little positive research done on the subject of white ethnic groups that one is hesitant to state conclusively that at this point in time ethnic identification and loyalty might be a positive asset for promoting social change in the city. Unfortunately, the rigid theoretical limitations of the official model have made it difficult to persuade funding agencies that such research might be appropriate. We are now faced with the rather bizarre situation in which many funding agencies are almost pathetically eager to do something about "the white ethnic problem," without ever having established that it is in fact a problem, and when it might be, rather, a distinct advantage.

If the second model has any utility at all, one could also call into question much of the romantic criticism and equally romantic utopianism of contemporary American society. It may turn out that there is, after all, rather little anomie. It may be that the mass society does not exist beyond Los Angeles and the university campuses around the country. It may be that the young who are seeking to create new clans, new tribes, or new communes could achieve the same goals by moving back into their grandparents' neighborhood—an experiment which would also have the happy advantage of revealing to them that intimate communities can be narrow, rigid, and doctrinaire, and, in many instances, quite intolerant of privacy, creativity, and diversity. If such romantic utopians would at least spend some time in their grandparents' neighborhood, they would be a bit more realistic about the problems that they will encounter in the Big Sur or along the banks of the Colorado River.

It should be clear by now that I entertain a good deal of skepticism about the so-called "rapid social change" which we have allegedly witnessed for the last two centuries (or, alternately, the last two decades). It is also probably clear that I had equal skepticism about the subject of whether this social change has been evolutionary and, indeed, unidirectional in its movement. Social change

there has been; presumably, at this point we are willing to see that some of it has been good and some of it has been bad. Some of it has enriched human living and some of it has polluted the human environment. I have no desire to go back to Ballendrehid, County Mayo, Ireland. I think, on the whole, we are far better off than our ancestors, but to say that we are far better off is not to say that we are all that much different from them; and because we know more than they did, it does not necessarily follow that we are either morally or intellectually superior to them.

If one abandons—at whatever pain—a simpleminded, easy-directional, melioristic, evolutionary model of social change, then one is put in a position where one would not at all be surprised at the survival of primordial groups in an industrial society. One might even be grateful that they survived. In any event, one would be far better able to understand how the Irish have been able to govern the large cities of the country for so long.³

I will confess that I have increasing ambivalencies even about lecturing on this subject. I am not persuaded that the rigidities of the liberal intellectual dogma makes it possible for it to be seriously considered. White ethnic groups are seen as quaint or as a social problem or perhaps even as immoral residues of a benighted past, but there seems to be something in the liberal intellectual dogma which forces people to "turn off" when someone suggests seriously that the collectivities organized around primordial bonds may not be vanishing and may even be a positive asset for society. I had this experience trying to break through the stone wall once before in my life—in a deeply ethnocentric situation. The place was a well-to-do Irish community and the subject was civil rights. The similarity of the experiences persuaded me that ethnocentrism is not limited to the ethnics.

Nonetheless, the American Jewish Committee would not be pleased with me if I did not conclude with some kind of practical suggestions. So let us assay a list of suggestions:

1. It is necessary for those of us who are part of the liberal intellectual ethnic group to give up our pejorative assumptions about other ethnic groups. We must at least for the sake of evolving hypotheses consider the possibility that they may be neither vestigial nor residual and that, despite the constant assertions of Professor Pettigrew and others, it is not necessarily true that the so-called "white ethnic" phenomenon is only a social class phenomenon. Incidentally, I wonder why Professor Pettigrew and others are so eager to write off ethnic differences as differences of social class.

2. I would further suggest that having put aside biases about ethnicity, we might try to understand the ethnic groups from the inside. It is very simple and easy to write them off as part of the silent majority or the fascist mass; to forget that until very recently they have provided the overwhelming electoral support for the liberal social reforms of the last four decades. Despite all myths to the contrary, they did not vote for George Wallace in the last election, and if they are, in fact, finally drifting away from their liberal leadership, the reason may well be that the liberal leadership has driven them away. At a minimum, we cannot assume this is not the case until we have engaged in a far more sympathetic effort to see social reality from their viewpoint than we have thus far engaged in.

One might ask in passing why there has been so little research on ethnic groups in American society even though the forming of a nation from so many diverse ethnic groups must surely be seen as one of the great social phenomena of the last three hundred years. I suspect that the moral imperatives of the classical, sociological model made it necessary for us to assume that if we ignored the ethnic groups they would go away. It may also be, as one colleague has suggested to me, a function of the fact that many of those who in the forties and fifties determined the shape of contemporary American social science were doing their damndest to forget their own ethnic background.

3. It might be appropriate for us to begin experimentation and research on what Professor Coleman has recently called the sociology of trust. The principal problem with ethnic diversity is that there seems to be a strong strain in the human personality to think that that which is different is also inferior, probably evil, and certainly not to be trusted. There can be no denying the historical fact that diversity has almost always meant conflict, and frequently violent

³ Be it noted that an Irish political leader would not think that someone who managed to win 42 per cent of the vote and alienate two or three of the major ethnic groups of the city was a particularly successful politician.

conflict. We human beings have managed to try to destroy one another over differences of skin color, nose shape, pronunciation, lengths of hair, eating habits, and a wide variety of other differences which rationally speaking seem rather minor. The question, "Why can't they be like us?" is frequently not merely a moral judgment but a battle cry. And, yet, trust does exist, at least in minimal amounts. One stops to think of the ethnic, religious, and geographic diversities included within the American society. The astonishing thing is not that this society has been periodically racked in violence, not that it was once torn asunder, not that friction and conflict are endemic, but that this society has survived at all. There has been considerable talk about group relations, of course, and not a little research. Most of the talk and research has been hampered not only by the official sociological model, but also by the fact that it was designed in most instances to validate either the inclinations of the funding agency or the general assumptions of the intellectual ethnic group. It seems to me that it would be most appropriate for future research projects and in group relations to be ecumenical in their funding sponsorship and execution. If it were to be done today, the ADL research on religion and anti-Semitism, for example, might be viewed as suspect, not only in its sociological rigor (which was strongly questioned by most professional reviewers), but also in its funding and sponsorship strategies.

4. If religio-ethnic communities are going to persist, then an appropriate strategy might be to facilitate the understanding of both the lights and the shadows of each tradition. The American Irish, if they understood more clearly tradition of the battle for Irish freedom, as well as the aberration of this tradition in which organizations as the Molly McGuires and the Ragan Colts might be more sympathetic and understanding toward the black struggle for freedom and dignity and also such black organizations as the Blackstone Rangers and the Black Panthers, both of whom by the standards of the Molly McGuires and the Ragan Colts are very moderate groups. The secret of religio-ethnic tolerance may be to understand two traditions well, your own and one other. Security in one's own tradition enables one to face the rest of the world without being unduly threatened by it, and an understanding of another tradition enables one to relativize at least somewhat the apparent absolutes of one's own tradition.

5. Finally, I would like to emphasize the importance of the "neighborhood" among ethnic groups. As one colleague observed to me, we have to realize that the Polish immigrants were essentially landless. They were peasants who either possessed no land of their own or not enough land to assure them of dignity and freedom.

In the United States they found an opportunity to become landholders and homeowners and, by that very fact, to become "somebody." And so their hard-earned monies were channeled into the purchase of property and later to buying rugs and furniture and decorations for their homes, all of which became an important projection of their personalities, because they symbolized the freedom, the security, and the dignity which these immigrants were able to find in the New World. The block in which they live, the school to which their children go, the church they attend on Sundays, the parks in which they sit, become intimately linked with their *property*, and the personality of which the property is seen as both a defense and an enchantment. A threat to the neighborhood, then, is a threat to property, and a threat to property is a threat to one's core of selfhood. This may be very primordial behavior and we may even wish to view it with amusement or contempt. However, our amusement or contempt does not make it any less real, and our moralistic dismissal of their concern about their property and their neighborhood as white ethnic racism is not likely to facilitate the solution of urban problems.

Nor is the neighborhood merely something physical and geographic. It is not only turf, but social turf. It is a geographical area infused by a friendship network which makes it even more sacred, more important to the personality and more vigorously to be defended from any threat. To tell someone who is defending his neighborhood, his property, his friendship network and his very selfhood that he is a racist when he is engaged in such primordial defense may heighten our sense of moral superiority, but it solves no problems. Unless those of us who are part of the intellectual elites are willing to try to understand from the inside the social turf dimension of the neighborhood, we will not even begin to cope with the complexities of urban social problems.

One hardly needs to be told that there is a new tribalism abroad in the land. Woodstock, with its rock and drug culture, the communitarian movements of

the Big Sur, witchcraft, divination, astrology, diabolism, and other bizarre aberrations, represent a profound dissatisfaction on the part of our elite young people with the rationalized, technocratic society. It is, of course, the wealth of that society which makes dissatisfaction with it possible, and much of the psychedelic world is childish and neurotic—and not nearly as happy or as swinging as Professor Harvey Cox would have us believe. And yet, granting the caricatures and the exaggerations of the new tribalism, the tribalists make an important point. Not by reason alone does man live. The white ethnics were aware of this all along, though perhaps not explicitly. We rootless intellectuals, living as we do, at least on the margin of Professor Bennis' temporary society, might be able to learn something from both.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Our final witness this morning is Mr. Raymond Carrasco, Assistant Executive Director of Interagency Committee from Mexican American Affairs.

Mr. Carrasco, come forward.

We are very pleased to have you here this morning.

STATEMENT OF RAYMOND CARRASCO, ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CABINET COMMITTEE ON SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE; ACCOMPANIED BY MRS. DELUVINA AGUIRRE AND MANUEL TENORIO

Mr. CARRASCO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I have two of my assistants with me.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Introduce your two assistants, please.

Mr. CARRASCO. They are my assistants, Mrs. Deluvina Aguirre, a former teacher from San Diego city schools, where she was a specialist in English as a second language. And mainly the school is in an urban type environment. Mr. Manuel Tenorio is formerly an assistant school principal in New Mexico, who also specializes in English as a second language. They are both well versed in English as a second language program.

I have prepared a statement that I would like to submit for the record. May I read it?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Your full statement will go in the record at this time. You may read it if you wish, but I think perhaps we can go into some of the things that other witnesses have talked about and some of the experiences that the lady had in the class room in trying to deal with some of the subjects that she is trying to teach.

(The prepared statement follows:)

STATEMENT BY RAYMOND CARRASCO, ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR CABINET COMMITTEE ON OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE

Mr. Chairman, thank you for allowing the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People to appear and present justification for the enactment of H.R. 14910, "The Ethnic Heritage Studies Center Act of 1969."

The express purpose of this bill is to provide a program to improve the opportunity of students in elementary and secondary schools to study cultural heritages of the major ethnic groups in the nation and gain greater appreciation of the multiethnic nature of the American population. The program is to be conducted through a number of Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers. Each Center would carry on activities related to a single culture or regional group of cultures. Specifically the activities of the Centers would be to develop curriculum materials dealing with ethnic groups and the training of teachers in the use of these materials.

Once established the Center would provide materials on identifiable ethnic groups in the United States. These materials would be made available to ele-

mentary and secondary schools throughout the nation. Each school could in effect establish its own Ethnic Heritage Center, thereby taking full advantage of the purpose of H.R. 14910.

The Administrative Provisions of the bill give added protection by the utilization of existing resources. The Commissioner of Education is directed to make arrangements which will utilize (1) the research facilities and personnel of colleges and universities, (2) the special knowledge of ethnic groups in local communities and of foreign students pursuing their education in this country, and (3) the expertise of elementary and secondary school teachers. This section of the bill, (Section 904), quells the community complaint that they are not asked to participate in the formulation of programs that involve their particular ethnic group. The bill also gives recognition to the front line soldier; the elementary and secondary school teacher and the expertise gained by working in the community.

The implied purpose of the bill is of primary importance, the eradication of racial intolerance through education. Discrimination and prejudice are the children of ignorance. Ignorance is pliable and can be changed with education. Introduce force and the ignorant man becomes set and no amount of education will make him pliable again.

The need for such a program is obvious. Our minority groups are demanding recognition. They look to the past to find a firm footing on which to state, "I belong, I too am part of America."

Thank you.

Mr. CARRASCO. Very well. Before we begin we want to thank you for all your efforts on behalf of the Spanish speaking in the Nation, especially in education. I think it would be worthwhile for the committee to hear from the teachers. If you have any questions—

Mr. PUCINSKI. We do have a question. I have a question which any one of you may answer, if you wish. Certainly we have a very large Latin American community in this country, Mexican-American and Spanish-American community, and it does seem to me that as I move through the various schools there is no material, I have been able to find, that could help the teacher bring to her students of Mexican background a greater awareness of the role that the Spanish American has played in the development of this country and where he fits into the total mosaic.

I am amazed that the people who have been here longer than anyone else are treated here today, in 1970, as foreigners and strangers. We have coming to Chicago a large number of Mexican Americans who were born in New Mexico and some of the Southwest part of the country, and they are Americans born in this country, some are second and third generation Americans, and they come to Chicago and they are treated as foreigners simply because the Chicago schools and people of Chicago are totally unaware that in this country we have large parts of Latin American communities.

Last week I was in Los Angeles holding hearings, and I was surprised to learn that in Los Angeles there are 650,000 Latin Americans and only 550,000 black Americans. I never realized that the Latin American community in Los Angeles was that large. It is the largest minority group in that city. It is amazing how little we know about the Latin-American community in this country.

Mr. CARRASCO. Mr. Chairman, an example might be the State of California, where the population is about two and a half million Spanish-speaking people compared to a black population of about 1 million. This factor, however, is, relatively unknown outside the State of California. We expect the 1970 Census to establish accurate population figures on our Spanish-speaking citizens.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I wonder if Mrs. Aguirre could help us? What kind of material do you have in the school to work with?

Mrs. AGUIRRE. To develop awareness of the contributions of the Mexican Americans in the development of this country?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes, research material.

Mrs. AGUIRRE. There is very little, if any. Dr. Nava in Los Angeles for one has recently begun some research in this area. However, none of his materials, as yet, have been widely disseminated. Dr. Nava has recently compiled a book on the Mexican American for the junior high school level. So far our main emphasis has been to assimilate or to integrate these Spanish-speaking children by giving them instruction in English as a second language and forcing them into the existing curriculum. Little or no emphasis has been made to make them knowledgeable or proud of their cultural heritage.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am not so much interested in making people proud of their culture heritage so much as I am interested in making them aware of it because I think, as Father Greeley and Father Paul and other witnesses have said, it is only when you are aware of your own makeup that you can first of all start appreciating yourself, and secondly start appreciating those around you.

Are there any film slides or any books or textbook materials?

Mrs. AGUIRRE. No, and I think our history books give an inadequate and even a very distorted view of Mexican Americans in the development of our country. So consequently Mexican-American students progress through our school system without a feeling of belonging or contributing to the American society of which he is a citizen.

Many of us were born here and have no other traditions.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What, in your judgment, is the image that non-Mexican Americans get of the Mexican American from the material that we now have in our textbooks and history books?

Mrs. AGUIRRE. Personally, let me give you my experience in the educational system in a small town in Arizona. History texts led me to believe that the Mexican American had contributed absolutely nothing to American history. Consequently as a child growing up, I was hesitant to accept the idea that I was Mexican, or that my parents spoke Spanish. Because, after all, other than being portrayed as bandits and shepherds, we had done absolutely nothing nor made any contribution. It was not until after I was out of college that I really began to become interested in the historical development of the Southwest and realized that while the eastern part of the United States was being settled, the Southwest was not completely deserted and desolate, but that there were Spanish-speaking people who lived and settled there.

Mr. CARRASCO. May I add, Mr. Chairman, that since America is an international country, and many of our relatives remain in Mexico or Latin America, that when they read American history books, they are appalled at the distortions. For example, many of my cousins who live in Mexico, read our textbooks, and grimace at the accounts of the Battle of the Alamo and other battles during the Mexican-American War. American textbooks are biased in favor of the Anglo population. Thus, when the Spanish-speaking child reads these books he feels inferior, which is then propagated by Anglo children.

So it is a difficult situation that we place the child in from the beginning. Without suitable curriculum materials, his education is,

hampered in most of the school districts. This is an added difficulty, a rock that we put on the child's back from the time he enters school, and is a very difficult thing to overcome.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Tenorio, would you like to add to that?

Mr. TENORIO. Yes; I agree with Mr. Carrasco. However, I would like to add that the Spanish-American community is not trying to have a Spanish-American history. We just want to have the proper place in the historical development of the United States, because we are Americans. We don't want a special history for Mexicans and another one for Indians. We don't want that. We want to be allowed to have some input into what goes into our history books because we have a lot to offer as far as curriculum development for the Southwest and anyone else as far as that goes. Every group has a lot to contribute, and I think we should tap every resource.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The purpose of this legislation is to make it possible to develop this resource material. As Father Greeley said in his testimony, there is a company that is publishing some books, but they are using material that was developed in 1920, simply because there isn't anything more current.

One might say, Why doesn't the private research sector develop this material? Apparently it has not, for whatever reasons.

Would you agree that we do have to have this sort of stimulation from the Federal level to encourage this kind of development of material?

Mr. TENORIO. Definitely. For instance, now that we have the Bilingual Education Act, what is happening to the publishers? They want some of the money. What do they do with "Dick and Jane?" All they do is change "Dick and Jane" to "Maria and Juan." The context is the same, and when the student reads the new bilingual book, nothing has changed. What Dick and Jane do is not in the experiences of the Indian in the Southwest. All they have done is change the names. They have not changed the content of the story, and I would like to see something developed by the people themselves for their own particular target area.

Mr. PUCINSKI. It is interesting that you mention that. We have the same experience, for instance, in the black community. The same book merely substituting black characters represents a totally alien world of experience. The purpose of this legislation is to try to provide resource material that is going to be a good deal more meaningful to the respective ethnic groups, not to separate them from the mainstream of the community, but rather bring them into the mainstream of the community.

It is interesting that you should point out that "Dick and Jane" is nothing more than a rewrite with new names. What sort of material do you think would be helpful in reaching young American or black American background?

Mr. TENORIO. As far as I am concerned, you have to take a very close look at the locale and obtain hard data to find out about the people; where they go and what they do, then provide them with a curriculum that will give them some kind of educational base for wherever they go.

For example, where do people from New Mexico go, if they leave the State? What kind of educational experience do we have to offer them? You have to take that into consideration.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Is it an administrative problem of developing curriculum?

Mr. TENORIO. No. In my school there were 45 percent Navajo children, 45 percent Mexican American, and 10 percent Anglo. I have been using ESL methods, not only to teach English, but science. I have adapted those materials that are available from both the BIA and public schools in other communities to my situation. This helped both the Navajo and Spanish speaking, as well as the Anglo child. But we need much more work in this area. We need more emphasis and lots more help. It must meet each area's needs.

Mr. CARRASCO. I would add that in many of the eastern areas where large concentrations of Puerto Ricans and Cubans reside, as well as the Chicago area with large Mexican American, and Puerto Rican concentrations, it would necessitate a different type of approach for development of materials. There will be a basic commonality of educational methods and materials usable in these areas, which could be expanded or diversified according to local needs.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What about intergroup activity after you have identified and developed your source material? Is there anything now being done to provide a kind of intergroup activity among youngsters of black background and Mexican background with the rest of the community?

Mr. CARRASCO. Not to any extent. The emphasis in the Southwest is, as Mrs. Aguirre stated, to assimilate, forgetting the Spanish language completely and forcing them to learn English and be assimilated right into the society without self identification or knowledge of their own cultural background.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Isn't that a real waste though of intellectual resources? I think one of the great tragedies of our country is that we have become or are becoming more and more a monolingual country, when we ought to be at least bilingual, and hopefully more.

I look at the European educational system and it is almost required that a child must speak at least one other language besides his basic language. In this country we seem to get away from that. Perhaps I am wrong, but it seems to me every time you get away from that sort of intellectual discipline you diminish the potential of intellectual capacity. I would think that there is not only a value in being able to communicate, but I think language stimulates intellectual pursuits.

We seem to be going the other way. Now, you tell me that in the Latin American community there is an emphasis on forgetting about the fact that you speak Spanish, emphasizing English instead.

Mr. CARRASCO. Correction, Mr. Chairman. The emphasis to forget Spanish is by the school districts. Within the Latin American community, the emphasis is to utilize the bilingual resources.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Sometimes I wonder who these educators listen to. I, for instance, go to a Jewish luncheon and the main topic of discussion is the lament of the people at the table that Jewish children aren't learning Hebrew. I go in to an Italian community and the lament there is that Americans of Italian background are not learning Italian. And the same thing with Polish and same thing with German and others.

You say, "Why aren't they?" Then you go in to the educator and the educator says, "Because we want to emphasize English." I think English is very important, but it seems to me when we were kids they

encouraged you to learn a foreign language in addition to English. I don't understand why there should be this deemphasis of another language in this country. Do you have any comment on this?

Mr. CARRASCO. Spanish cannot be eliminated because there are two things that are important here. One is, that we don't have the ocean that divides us from the mother country. The influence of radio, and magazines is constant. The communication between the child and parent is there at all times, because he is raised to speak Spanish which is common to most people of the Southwest and the Midwest because of the constant migrant stream.

There is another thing that I must point out. We are wasting one of the best resources that we have, for the future. We should utilize the Spanish-speaking population of this country. Because, if we are going to deal effectively with South America and its problems, we must have people who are aware and sensitive to that Latin culture.

One of the mistakes, is that within the State Department we don't have employees with the knowledge of the people in South America or Puerto Rico. I just returned from Puerto Rico yesterday, and one of the things that was constantly pointed out at community meetings was, "Why send us English monolingual speaking people? They do not understand what we are saying. We cannot speak English that well and when we try to translate, much is lost and thus you don't understand what we mean."

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think that is absolutely right.

Mr. CARRASCO. Here we are dealing with a large population in South America, that is potentially explosive. Here in the United States the Spanish-speaking resources could be used in many areas of South America. We could be the buffer for South America, thereby creating a better impression of the United States south of the border. And I think if we do not develop this bilingual or multilingual ability within our country, we are limiting our country's future.

Mr. PUCINSKI. But this is all part of the total fabric—national denial of ethnicity.

We have a continent right up against our own that the next hundred years is going to play a very important role. We are going to have to solve our mutual problems and I am not too hopeful that the Latin Americans are going to learn to speak English down there in Argentina and Mexico.

We are also interested in the continent of Africa. There is an old saying that he who controls Africa controls the world. That huge continent teems with natural resources. I would think one of the biggest things we ought to be doing in this country is developing within the black community a greater awareness of the history of the culture of the African nations and their meaning, and greater ties with those countries.

Would you like to add anything to that, Father Greeley?

Father GREELEY. Just an amen.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Father Paul?

Father ASCIOLLA. I agree wholeheartedly. I understand the problem and we have a humanities program at Holy Cross High School now. That is so typical of what is happening in the Southwest which is happening in other parts of the country. With our chauvinism—somewhere back in our history we made a commitment to homogenize

America. We read some of the news clippings of some of the biggest clerics in the country in the 1850s and 1890s talking about the immigrants coming over. I don't know when we made that commitment. There is some sort of moral commitment that we made to exclude everybody and, as Father Greeley said, below the veneer of American sophistication is the constant threat that anybody that is different is dangerous.

The Chicago public school system assistant superintendent called me up the other day. They have an in-service training program and they have no materials whatsoever. He called me up and said, "Can you give me a list of books and films and slides and things like that about the American Italian family?" He said he would need it by Monday.

I said, "If you would give me 4 or 5 years, I may be developing something." The only thing they find is something on blacks and Jews, which have been two visible kinds of entities in American society. But the other ethnic groups are completely excluded. In Congress they were excluded. So I agree wholeheartedly—amen, amen, amen—three times.

Father GREELEY. I would like to say something. I was thinking here while testimony was going on how refreshingly different the atmosphere is in this room from many of the ethnic conferences that I have had to go to in the last year. Now ethnicity is in, and they say, "Do we have any sociologists who know about it?" And those few who talked on the subject have to go to meetings.

Generally speaking, the meeting assumes that the ethnics are essentially a working class mass who are a social problem and whose resistance to social progress and particularly to progress of the black people has to be overcome. I must say that it is very difficult to shake this atmosphere and to say, maybe the social problem is the other way around. Maybe those in the room are the social problem for not understanding these people. They are not all by any means poor, nor are they all by any means social problems. And here is, I think, the refreshing difference I note in this room. They may just passively have a contribution to make, and that is a very difficult concept to sell in the more intellectual levels of government bureaucracy of the large foundations.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am glad you mentioned that point, Father, because you have put into sharper focus what I was trying to point out delicately to Father Paul in discussing the National Institute on Group Life. I am for a National Institute on Group Life. I am also for intergroup activity. But it is within this framework that we find the sort of sociological efforts and emphasis that you mentioned here.

What I am trying to do in this legislation is, first, to provide the machinery for giving these respective groups a greater sense of identity, a greater sense of awareness of themselves, a greater sense of what their contribution has been to the total American fabric. Once that has been done, then, of course, the social scientists will undoubtedly want to proceed to the next step and tie all of these together in greater intergroup activity.

It does seem to me—and I think you have really put your finger on this thing beautifully—that we tend to arouse suspicion in a lot of ethnic groups as a result of these conferences. I have attended them

too. But there tends to be, whether you like it or not, a subliminal emphasis that somehow or other these ethnic groups are inferior and they need help. I think this is what the groups themselves resent.

Father GREELEY. With white ethnics "racist" is a word like "damn Yankee" used to be.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think this is what these various ethnic groups resent, and they become very suspicious. So all of a sudden they feel there is a greater tendency to steer them into another melting pot. Too often that is exactly what these conferences wind up as being. Whereas these people say, "Look, sure we want to work and live and respect and love all of our fellow Americans. That is our natural goal, of course it is. But we like to recognize the fact that we are Americans, even though we are a little different, and each one of us is a little different."

We are hopeful that if we can persuade Congress and persuade the administration and persuade the Office of Education, persuade a lot of other people that we can get this legislation moving and start giving these people the kind of awareness of their identity, then the mosaic takes on a new meaning. You have eliminated much of the feelings of inferiority that so often attaches to these people.

For instance, when I was a newspaper reporter before I ran for Congress, I remember the first story I wrote for the Chicago Times. My editor was going to give me a byline and he called me over and he said, "That is a good story you wrote, kid. I am going to give you a byline on this story. What name do you want to use?"

I looked at him very startled. I said, "What do you mean?" He said, "You know, whatever name I put on this story now is going to be the name you are going to use, as a newspaperman, for the rest of your life."

I said, "My name is Roman Pucinski."

He said, "But you are not going to use that name, are you?"

I said, "What would you suggest?"

He said, "Well, Pullman or Porter."

I said, "That name Pucinski was good enough for my parents and I think it is good enough for me. If you insist on my changing my name, forget about the byline."

He said, "You feel pretty strongly about it, don't you?"

I said, "I don't know any other way to feel."

So, he wrote "Roman Pucinski" and I know for many years people used to call up and say, "That guy with the Polish name." They had problems remembering the name, but we stayed with it. Yet we see so many young people who give in and go the other way. They change their names to conceal their identity, and I can't imagine any reason why in this country anyone ever ought to conceal his identity.

Do you have anything to add?

Mr. CARRASCO. No; except that the pressure of changing a name or assimilating is pretty strong in many areas due to the inferiority feelings that people have. As we move through the Texas school districts, some children are forbidden to speak Spanish on the school grounds and are punished for doing so.

This prohibitive policy is creating turmoil in these areas.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think one of the problems we have, and perhaps Father Greeley or Father Paul would like to comment on this, that

somehow or other, if you teach American students information about their own ethnic backgrounds, that this is going to lead to separatism.

I have said time and again that the main thrust of this legislation is to do exactly the opposite. Those who fear a development of separatism simply because people are made aware of their own ethnic heritage really are concealing the truth.

I think what they are afraid of is that perhaps if we did make available to every American the knowledge of his own heritage that some of the archaic institutions that have slowed the country down would have to give way.

Does anybody care to comment?

Mr. TENORIO. I would like to comment. I have visited many schools in the Southwest, particularly those composed of two or three different ethnic groups. At Gallup, N. Mex., the majority of the students are Navajo, and they have a pilot program in bilingual, bicultural economics. The class is taught both in English and Navajo by two teachers who are trying out new ideas.

I talked to students in the pilot program and, as you stated, it is not creating any form of separatism at all. In fact, it is creating a better understanding among the various groups. I questioned different students. "How has the course helped you?" A boy from Indiana told me, "When I came to Gallup, I had a different idea about the Mexicans and Indians. They were dirty and didn't want to work."

I asked, "What have you found out in taking this course?"

He said, "I have found out we are more alike than we are different, and I look at them as friends now whereas before I looked at them in a different light."

It has created better understanding. He understands them and they understand him. I asked the Navajo- and Spanish-speaking students the same question, and they said they get along better, whereas before they did not. It creates unity rather than separatism as you say.

Mrs. AGUIRRE. May I react to one of your previous questions? In the Southwest there has always been a certain stigma if you were Spanish speaking. Consequently, we thought it was a great step forward when we didn't have to identify our ethnicity in order to compete for a position.

Some parents do not teach their children Spanish or want them to speak Spanish because their own experiences in our educational system has been so frustrating and they don't want their children to encounter the same frustrations they experienced. They view the problem from a different perspective.

Mr. PUCINSKI. But things change. I remember 10 years ago in 1960, there was a young Assistant Secretary of Labor who was a great humanitarian and deeply concerned about discrimination. And in order to detect discrimination in living and promotion, he began making little notations in code around the corner of the employment cards: "W" for white, "N" for Negro, so he would have some inventory of the practices in the Department.

Some of the people in this country learned about this and raised such a violent protest that the Secretary of Labor summarily fired him. That was 10 years ago. Today, we are suddenly discovering that if we don't have records like that, we don't know what the situation is. So now we are going back to keeping records.

You are right. Attitudes have changed.

Mr. CARRASCO. This fear of separatism is just a lack of understanding between the various ethnic groups; in whatever group you are referring to, how many of them could make it back in their own countries now? They could not assimilate in those home countries any more. This is a reality that has to be faced. When Mexican American visitors travel into Mexico, they are treated like tourists and very few of them, unless they are just first-generation immigrants, can return to Mexico and assimilate.

After 5 or 10 years immigrants are unable to return comfortably to their homeland. The immigrant learns to be competitive here in the United States in order to succeed. Besides, this is the place where most of us were born and raised. We know the system here. This is our country. This shakes up the separatist thinker to find out that there is no other place that the Spanish-speaking American wants to live.

The other point is that, in order to better compete within this system, we need skills. In order to acquire these skills, our educational system has to prepare us. At the child's level he is completely dependent upon our educational system. Unless these skills are developed through knowledge of himself, and a feeling of confidence and the ability to work within the system, minority children will not be fully contributing members in our society.

Father GREELEY. Congressman, whenever somebody raises that issue with me on separatism, I say, "Separatism from what?" Because what it often seems to imply is separate from a rather narrow mainstream of Anglo-Saxon American life which is certainly praiseworthy but I can see it is the tradition. But when people say separate, it usually means separate from that, as though it isn't possible to be distinct from that without separating oneself from the rest of society.

I think the Vice President, with whom I disagree on most things, has a very good word for that attitude.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think I know what you mean.

Father GREELEY. Snobbiness.

Father ASCIOLLA. Congressman, I think I agree with that. I work with international migration—Germany, and all of the countries of the Common Market—into the United States. I think our basic principle is that a person integrates or assimilates from a position of strength, never from a position of weakness. And that position of strength comes from a sense of self-image which necessarily means an identity, some roots in the past. Then when he is secure with it, then you can relate to other people. You cannot make friends with paranoid walking down the street. You cannot be friendly and relate to them, he doesn't know who he is.

The separatism, I think, is a tool of some people. In some cases that drives the wedge of loyalty between the American—whatever that means—and the ethnic. They say, you can't really be a loyal American. Yet all you have to do is go through the ethnic neighborhoods to see who is raising the American flag and who is fighting the war.

Yet this wedge of double loyalty. Somebody is putting the wedge and saying you can't be American and you are going to separate from this hard-core tradition which we foist upon everybody as the only tradition.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I do believe that as we conclude these hearings a strong case has been made establishing a firm need for this legislation. But more important, I think a strong case has been made for the need for new orientation of our basic educational concepts. We have tried to refrain from relying too heavily on representatives of the various ethnic groups, realizing that perhaps their testimony standing alone might be somewhat prejudicial in favor of the legislation.

Rather, we have sought the views of educators and experienced scholars who see the broader picture. I believe that the record will show indisputably that we have a very strong case in support of this legislation. It will be my hope that we will approve it and move it on to the floor and see whether we can make a contribution.

I must say, I am a much wiser man today than I was when we started these hearings. I didn't know the true extent or depth of the problem. I can appreciate today why we have so many problems in this country among the young people.

This legislation could help to some extent to solve the problems. I would not be so foolish as to suggest that this bill is going to solve all of the problems, but I think it can point us in the direction of trying to accept the fact that this country is made up of many different people and our Republic will survive only when all of these different people begin to realize and understand their differences, accept their differences.

I don't see that there is any conflict between being a good and proud American and yet also taking pride in your own ethnic background. I think the conflict lies in trying to deny that ethnic background, and this is, of course, what I think the hearings have demonstrated so well in the excellent testimony we have had here.

I want to thank all of you for being with us. I do hope we can get this legislation passed at an early date.

Thank you very much.

The committee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m., the committee adjourned subject to call of the Chair.)

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1970

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
GENERAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 10 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 2257, Rayburn House Office Building, the Honorable Roman C. Pucinski (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representative Pucinski.

Staff members present: John F. Jennings, counsel; and Alexandra Kiska, clerk.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The subcommittee will come to order.

STATEMENT OF JOHN F. BURGESS, ASSISTANT DEAN, SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, AND PAST DIRECTOR, PRESENT CONSULTANT, OF THE NATIONALITIES DIVISION, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE; ACCOMPANIED BY STANLEY RICHARDS, NATIONALITIES COUNCIL, REPUBLICAN PARTY OF ILLINOIS

Mr. PUCINSKI. We will proceed this morning with the hearing on H.R. 14910, the ethnic studies centers bill. We are pleased to have with us this morning Mr. John F. Burgess, assistant dean, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, and past director and present consultant of the nationalities division of the Republican National Committee.

I understand Mr. Burgess is accompanied by Mr. Stanley Richards, who is very active in the nationalities division of the Republican Party in the Midwest and in Chicago. We are most pleased to have both of these gentlemen. I am particularly pleased to have Mr. Richards here because he is one of my constituents. It is interesting to know we are on the same side of the fence on this issue, and it makes me very pleased.

Mr. Burgess, why don't you and Mr. Richards come forth? There will be other members of the committee joining us as we move along.

One of the problems we have is that there are a number of things going on at one time around here, and it is very difficult to get the members of the subcommittee together. But the record, of course, is the important thing.

I would like to welcome both of you gentlemen. And I am particularly pleased that the nationalities division of the Republican Party takes an interest in this legislation.

Mr. Burgess, why don't you proceed in any manner you wish, and then we will ask Mr. Richards to add in any way he wishes?

Mr. BURGESS. Congressman, my presentation will be brief.

My appearance here this morning is based upon a threefold interest in H.R. 14910, which would establish a number of Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers in the United States.

First, as an American of Lithuanian descent whose grandparents emigrated to the United States early in this century, I am continually conscious of the culture and way of life of a proud and ancient European nation. I treasure this awareness because of the richness that it has brought to me as a person. I value it because I firmly believe that it has made me a better American—an individual whose ethnic background has increased his pride in America because of the contributions his nationality group has made to this land—and also because of the opportunity America provided my forefathers, the opportunity for a better life.

The proposed centers would help foster this pride and awareness throughout the United States, particularly in those areas where it may not now be possible because of a lack of financial support or a lack of organization.

Second, as a university administrator in a school of international studies, I have seen the interest of students in learning about other cultures and other areas of the world. At Georgetown, the motto of the Walsh School of Foreign Service is: "International peace through international understanding." Who could question the wisdom and desirability of this phrase? Should we not assist the youth of America in understanding the contributions made to America by the peoples of other nations? Should we not encourage education that promotes knowledge of other lands, other languages, other cultures, in this rapidly shrinking world? Would not both America and the world be more harmonious if we all knew more about each other as individuals, as peoples?

The establishment of ethnic heritage studies centers might also help to ameliorate some of the problems on our campuses today. So many of the students with whom I come in contact appear to be searching—searching for answers, for an identity, for a cause to espouse. Promoting ethnic-cultural awareness will provide many of the answers to questions of what made America the great Nation that it is—not capitalistic exploitation and imperialism, but hard work by people who voluntarily made sacrifices to create a better world. Those students seeking an identity may find it in their ethnic background and with this discovery may better understand themselves. Those students seeking a cause can join a movement to foster the development of America's many cultures, enriching our land and broadening the heritage we pass on to the future generations of Americans.

Finally, as a consultant to the heritage groups—nationalities—division of the Republican National Committee and as a former director of that division, I can testify that millions of Americans of foreign extraction would support the establishment of these centers. My contact with many of them during the last few years has convinced me that America's best citizens are those whose heritage is both American and foreign. They take pride in their native culture. They are proud of America. They know that both are compatible.

They support America because they realize that she has opened her arms to them or their forebears.

It is time also for America to open her heart to them. Now is the time for Congress to indicate in a tangible way that our country will continue in her greatness as long as Americans of ethnic background can continue to take pride in that background. Our Government must be willing to take concrete steps toward insuring that our multicultural society continues to flourish so that those who follow us can share in this cultural wealth.

Enactment of the bill you are considering will be a large step in this direction. If taken, it will prove to be the lamp beside the golden door of America's cultural heritage.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you very much, Mr. Burgess, for an excellent statement.

We will put your statement in the record, Mr. Richards, and would you like to add to this statement.

(The statement referred to follows:)

THE REPUBLICAN STATE NATIONALITIES COUNCIL OF ILLINOIS

Gentlemen: When the representative delegates of our Council were presented with a summary of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Center bill H.R. 14910, it was discussed fully and the delegates representing the 17 different nationalities reported to their individual groups. At the last meeting of the delegates held on April 28, 1970, there was a unanimous concurrence of opinion urging support and passage of H.R. 14910.

Although our group is partisan in many respects the unanimity of support of H.R. 14910 transcends party lines. Although the group is strictly ethnic in background, representing migrants of recent years, it is composed mostly of 2nd and 3rd generation descendants of the various nationalities, unreservedly they espouse the ideals of freedom and justice that has made our beloved United States a sanctuary from the oppression that they and their ancestors had suffered.

It is further agreed that the many ethnic schools furthering the heritage and cultures of the various groups are limited by lack of funds to develop a real understanding of each of their ethnic backgrounds. There is concurrence in the belief, that the development of these cultures will gather momentum in not only counter acting the dissenting groups who are striving to destroy our freedom and institutions, but will engulf them in pointing out the merits of supporting the rights they are trying to destroy. The silent majority can be voluble in setting the proper pace and direction. The heritage and culture of the various ethnic groups furthers respect not only for law and order but likewise for individuals. Without respect there is no love thy neighbor. Which course we direct for this generation will guide our nation and the world.

We the Albanians, Bielorrussians, Chinese, Croations, Czech-Slovaks, Estonians, Germans, Hellenics, Hungarians, Italians, Japanese, Latvians, Lithuanians, Polish, Puerto Ricans, Slovaks and Ukrainians urge the Congress to act speedily in passing this Bill.

Myron B. Kuropas, President 1752 N. Normandy Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60635

William D. Belroy, Vice-President, 105 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Joseph Zukowski, Vice-President, 5378 N. Lynch Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. Gerald Stokes, Recording Secretary, Tinley Park, Ill.

John Spatuzza, Treasurer, 300 S. Austin Ave., Oak Park, Ill.

Stanley A. Richards, Director, 6941 W. Farragut Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60656, Representing Ethnic Groups at this hearing

Mr. RICHARDS. Yes; I concur fully in the statement made by Mr. Burgess.

In addition to the summary I presented, I have several things that I would like to point out. And I would like to ask a couple of questions afterward.

In Chicago, as you are well aware of, Mr. Congressman, we have several groups sponsoring schools teaching the Polish language and culture. One, the General Pulaski group, has a weekly attendance of about 600. Another, the Kosciuszko group, has an attendance of approximately 300. The Ukrainian group has two schools with a total enrollment of about 400.

But these groups are hard pressed for funds, which come principally from donations.

In Chicago, token studies were undertaken of the Polish traditions at Wright Junior College by an enthusiastic Dr. Zurawski. And at Lane Technical High School, a Polish Club of students—an all-boys school—was started by a cousin of mine, a teacher of biology, Mr. Stanley Tabor. But this is limited to a few.

When members of the board of education of Chicago were contacted, they discounted any thought of it because of the chaotic money situation. Because of the chaotic money situation for schools, not only in Illinois and particularly in Chicago, ethnic group studies seem to be only a dream with reality.

When this was discussed with several legislators from the Chicago area—namely, State Senators Krasowski, Lanigan, and Representatives Henry Hyde and Stolle—they concluded it was a futile thought under conditions which are getting worse instead of better. With a large predominant Polish ethnic population in the Chicago area, the token efforts are appreciated, but all the other ethnic groups are basically without hope.

Certain racial groups have brought chaos to our campuses with demands for studies without basis and to the exclusion of others. I feel certain that the ethnic groups I represent are entitled to some basic help.

A bilingual education can ready youngsters for a more successful career.

When I attended a parochial school, it was mandatory to learn the Polish language first, with English secondary. This did not make us less American. In fact, it stimulated our interest in our Government.

A glowing example of ethnic background is the successful career of the chairman, Congressman Pucinski.

I discussed this bill yesterday with Mr. Aloysius Mazewski, president of the Polish National Alliance. A national Polish fraternal organization, with a membership of about 340,000, the Polish National Alliance maintains Alliance College in Cambridge Springs, Pa. Mr. Mazewski is enthusiastic in the hope that the passage of this bill will help in furthering programs through the sponsorship of Alliance College which would nurture and enhance the success of ethnic schools throughout the United States.

Mr. Chairman, if this bill is enacted into law, what provisions will there be in administering the allotted funds? How will they be dispersed to achieve the maximum return? Too often in the present and immediate past have enormous funds been wasted because of flighty administration of them.

This is one of our main concerns in this bill. We are hoping that it will be passed and administered to such an extent that all groups can readily benefit from them.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I certainly appreciate your statement, Mr. Richards. And you raised a very good question about the problems that some of

these schools are having now in trying to maintain some sort of an ethnic-studies activity.

This bill has as its main thrust the funding of activities at the universities for the development of source material, film slides, film strips and film-selected material, textbooks, training of teachers in these various ethnic groupings, so that you will have personnel who can then develop these programs at the elementary or high-school levels.

Your big problem now—I think Mr. Burgess will agree—is that in many schools you just don't have personnel and there is no material whatsoever on the ethnic identity of the various groups. You can go into any school in this country and look through textbooks and you will find practically no reference at all to the heterogeneous makeup of America. We have tried to homogenize the whole country into a melting pot, and there is just no material available.

These teachers that are conducting these courses for the youngsters have practically no material. They have to develop their own material, mimeographed material, simply because there are no textbooks in the languages.

We have said time and time again that if America is going to be the great leader of the world that she is, her citizens ought to be at least bilingual. Every person ought to be able to communicate in at least one other language besides English.

Yet, as you know, there is a slowing down of foreign-language classes because there is a lack of foreign-language teachers. So these ethnic-studies centers would have as their principal purpose the development of these programs.

Now, the bill envisions that these ethnic-studies centers could use services of organizations and institutions that have some background in this work. For instance, we have in Chicago an excellent Lithuanian museum, an excellent Polish museum, and various other types of museums, which are just treasure chests of invaluable information that you won't find anyplace else in this country. Those museums could be of great assistance in development of lecture material, in development of textbooks. And the very schools you are talking about conceivably could be funded to test some of the techniques that are being developed by the ethnic-studies centers to see how well they work.

I think what this legislation is designed to do—and you, I think, put it very succinctly—is to develop an awareness of the fact that we Americans are a nation of many people, many nationalities, many races, many religions, and ought to know more about each other.

Right now, there is just not any source of material.

Mr. Burgess, do you know—and you are an administrator of a university—do you know whether or not there is any source material of this kind on Lithuanians, for instance?

Mr. BURGESS. Very little material available, at not only Georgetown but other universities I visited. I know there is not a lack of material itself, but it is just a lack of interest on the part of people who run the universities, who stock university libraries. And there have not been too many courses offered on the heterogeneous makeup of America.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Now, you alluded to young people seeking identity. There are those who might oppose this legislation on the ground that to emphasize ethnicity merely leads to greater polarization of people.

I, of course, don't subscribe to that. I think that the people who espouse that argument are those who are satisfied with the status quo and have always tried to obscure the fact that this is a polyglot nation.

What would be your reaction to the question, that is, as to those who might oppose the legislation, that this will polarize differences? What would your reaction be?

Mr. BURGESS. My reaction would be that by emphasizing ethnicity, what we are doing is, in effect, emphasizing pride in one's background, and one's ethnic background is both an American background and a Polish or Lithuanian background. So if it would do anything to increase pride in America, I don't see how it can be considered in any way harmful.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Richards, what do you think?

Mr. RICHARDS. I wholly agree with Mr. Burgess' statement, although an ethnic group couldn't actually be identified as a racial group. In a sense it might be, but a racial group and an ethnic group is a different thing. An ethnic group can be composed of so many different ethnic groups within the Caucasian race.

But getting away from this, I would like to ask a question as to whether a college like the Alliance College could be basically a focal point for interest in the Polish ethnic group and other colleges, of course, take up these other ethnic groups. Or could this be centered within certain areas in certain colleges which have already instituted certain material?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Well, we certainly would not want to preclude anyone from applying. Many will be applying, and there will be a number of different centers.

I would think that a school like the Alliance College, with its rich Polish tradition and its access to Polish professors, various exchange students and various other things they are developing out there, surely would become one of the key ethnic-studies centers in perhaps the Polish community.

There are other universities that would undoubtedly select whatever field they think they are strongest in.

This morning in the Washington Post there was a big editorial about the Mexican Americans and their community and the extent which they are exploited. We sometimes lose track of the fact that they were on this continent before we got here. And, you know, we treat them as foreigners, or something, when actually if you take in the Southwest part of this country, Mexican Americans have a rich tradition, a great contribution to America. Yet there is a tendency to look upon them as foreigners. There is a tendency in this country to fail to recognize the ethnicity.

And, in answer to your question, Mr. Richards, Alliance College would probably specialize in the Polish, and Loyola of Chicago may decide, because of the Lithuanian community, they can make great contributions toward developing Lithuanian culture, or study centers for Lithuanian studies. And Brandeis University conceivably might want to be a great center for developing Jewish study material and textbook material. Howard University—well, you say there is a distinction.

You are right. This country is made up of people of many races, many religions, many nationalities. These ought to have some recognition. And we will know more about all of these. And the main thrust of this legislation is to provide study material that is not now available.

For instance, you know yourself, Mr. Richards, you go to the library and you probably get three or four books on source material about the Poles in America.

Mr. Amon was one of them who was curator at the Polish museum. And there were a couple of others. But there is really, you know, no study of the history of the Poles in this country and students really have to dig pretty hard to find it.

This is the purpose of developing this kind of study materials for schools all over the country. And it would then be made available to thousands of schools that want to use it.

We had testimony from teachers who said:

We would love to teach ethnic-study courses in our schools about the various nationalities in our community. We don't have the materials.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, I can remember 50 years ago when I was a student, there was available—and I am speaking particularly about the Polish background—there were plenty of books and material because of the teaching in parochial schools, but there was a dearth of material for those who wanted to follow it. It was mandatory, as you personally know, that the Polish language was predominant in the parochial school system.

But at this day and age, there is so little left in the libraries that it is pretty hard to find anything at all of much consequence.

Now, we are not worried too much about our Poles, because we are a dominant force, as was proven last Sunday in Humboldt Park, where we had an outpouring of over 100,000 people. But there are some of these other ethnic groups that in our organization and in the Nationalities Organization of Illinois, they keep popping these questions, people who are interested in their ethnic groups.

And I say the majority ethnic groups, like the Poles and Lithuanians, Ukrainians, they may get some answer to it. But what will happen to the others, Croatians and Bulgarians, Estonians and Latvians and Bielorussians, and all of those, and they are adamant about their demands? That is the reason why they asked me to come here and get all of the answers to these questions wherever possible, so they can pass it on to their own.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You made a very good point.

Now you have some of your larger ethnic groups which have tried to take care of their needs, strong German-American community, for example. You have the Polish-American community and Italian-American community. But your point is well taken, that the smaller groups, the ones that do not have resources, we ought to know something about these people. They are Americans and part of our mosaic as to this country. We ought to know something about them, their backgrounds.

Yet it is amazing how you don't know anything about them. They are neighbors, you work with them, you live next door to each other. And you know practically nothing about each other.

And I think this is now, as you pointed out, Mr. Burgess, one of the problems of the younger people. You really deny a human being his identity.

There is just no way of—well, we keep saying, "You are American." Of course, we are Americans. Nobody denies it, and we are all very proud we are Americans. But there is more to a human being than a piece of real estate they were born on, and we know practically nothing.

So the answer to your question, Mr. Richards, is that I am sure you will find some very exciting research going on in various universities of this country on these less identifiable ethnic groups.

You talk about the Bielorrussians. There is very little known about them in this country. Yet it is a very old country, one that has been long in existence. And there are various others we know practically nothing about.

Mr. RICHARDS. The reason I bring it up about the different nationalities, these groups are identifiable in a map back in the twenties, and you can't find it on the map anymore because it has been swallowed up by the Iron Curtain. But these people, they have such a strong background and they have a very rich background that has contributed not only to Russia but Poland and all of the other major countries back of the Iron Curtain but have been swallowed up in this group and still wish to be identified.

I think if they were identified in that way and they were given material and help in this country that they readily should get, I am sure it will evolve into something that will make our background in this country much richer and possibly get away from a lot of the unrest that we have.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think the fact that we have today the testimony from both nationalities divisions of the two major parties, indicates in itself that there is an awareness of ethnicity in this country, the fact that both major political parties have a nationalities division and recognize the fact that there are certain problems that each of these nationality groups have that must be reflected in the fabric of the country, and the fact that the chairman of the Democratic Nationalities Committee are here, indicates again the awareness of the need for this kind of material.

My judgment is, if we get this bill through Congress, it could make some significant contributions toward a better understanding toward all of us, as Mr. Burgess testified.

We are very grateful for your being here. And I want to thank you, Mr. Richards, for making a trip from Chicago. I know you represent a broad range of people—Albanians, Byelorussians, Chinese, Croatians, Czechoslovakians, Estonians, Germans, Hellenics, Hungarians, Italians, Japanese, Latvians, Lithuanians, Polish, Puerto Ricans, Slovaks, and Ukrainians.

Mr. Burgess, I was also very pleased to have your testimony.

**STATEMENT OF ANDREW J. VALUCHEK, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO
THE CHAIRMAN, NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS, DEMOCRATIC NA-
TIONAL COMMITTEE**

Mr. PUCINSKI. We will now call Mr. Valuchek, special assistant to the chairman, nationalities affairs, Democratic National Committee.

If you have a statement, it will go in the record at this point, and you can proceed as you wish.

Mr. VALUCHEK. I will simply read the statement. It is short. And I will be happy to answer questions you might have.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to testify before this committee in behalf of the ethnic heritage studies centers bill. I consider the passage of this bill of special significance and importance. It is for this reason I appear before you in its support.

My entire adult life has been engaged in active participation among the nationality groups of this country. I was the editor of two American Czechoslovak dailies, and I headed two of the foremost American Czechoslovak organizations—the Sokol USA and the Czechoslovak National Council of America. I have taught at Columbia University. I have headed the nationality groups in numerous political campaigns. I worked with the many ethnic groups in New York City, under the leadership of former Mayor Robert F. Wagner, and now I direct the activities of the Nationalities Division of the Democratic National Committee.

Thus I feel that I am qualified to speak on this subject.

Approximately 34 million Americans, 19 percent of our total population, are listed by the Census Bureau as of foreign stock. The Census Bureau defines foreign stock "as coming from a foreign country, or with at least one foreign-born parent."

There are 606 foreign-language newspapers in the United States, published in 39 languages, with a total circulation of 2,500,000. There are 86 national fraternal organizations, several of which have a membership of over a quarter million people. There are 845 foreign-languages. Moreover, several television stations have telecasts in foreign languages.

Language is one of the most important cultural ties existing today. It is, in fact, one of the fundamental measures of cultural identification. The various nationality groups in the United States cling tenaciously to their own language forms, primarily in their pride of cultural heritage. Their language is the only binding force for communication with relatives abroad and for maintaining the cultural lore which has been passed down through the ages.

I cannot overemphasize the value of Government support for the instruction of these languages. They add immensely to the cultural heritage of the United States; bringing together all that has been passed from father to son in other nations around the world. And they keep our lines of communication open with the rest of the world.

In international relations, language serves an important function for the United States. For example, consider the influence Americans of Italian descent had and still have upon their own homeland. After World War II Italy was on the verge of turning Communist. Yet an American-Italian newspaper, *Il Progresso*, a daily published in New York City, began a campaign urging its readers to write to their relatives, telling them about America, about our way of life, and about democracy. Other American Italian organizations and newspapers joined in the campaign, and several million letters arrived in Italy. It was widely acknowledged that this helped turn the tide, and the Communists suffered a setback in that crucial national election.

I could cite many examples such as this. People living behind the Iron Curtain, people in other free lands of this earth, can and should

be able to maintain their contact with the American people. The only way this can be done is through their native language.

If we can keep the pride of ancestry alive, the ethnic groups in the United States would be better able to cope with their own problems. They could better serve their country, and they would be a positive contributor to world peace.

I thank Congressman Roman Pucinski for introducing H.R. 14910. It would be a valuable piece of legislation, and I urge its adoption.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you very much, Mr. Valuchek. I am very pleased to see you recall a campaign that was waged in this country when Italy was having its own problems.

I was in Italy at that time, and I remember how the avalanche of letters from Americans turned the tide over there. They had confidently predicted Italy was going to be Communist, and it was really the letters from this country that changed it.

I remember the Ambassador telling us at that time the big change that occurred when those letters began pouring into Italy from America. I had forgotten about that little episode until you recalled it to the committee.

Do you, Mr. Valuchek, see any problem in the argument that one might get that, somehow or other, from exercising ethnicity, you are further polarizing differences in the country?

Mr. VALUCHEK. I don't think so. As I said in my statement, all of my life I was active in the American-Czechoslovak affairs and don't consider myself a worse American than someone not without this kind of cultural background. On the contrary, I think I understand America better. And I think I understand its institutions, because I feel I am richer in my personal heritage than some of those who didn't have the same kind of experience.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I believe that those who are arguing that this legislation might somehow polarize differences are ignoring the fact that we now have in this country a great deal of latent antagonism among people, and this is particularly true among children.

I am frequently very disturbed about the degree to which young children express their parents' prejudices in schools. You take a little Mexican child in a predominantly Anglo-Saxon community or other ethnic grouping, that little Mexican child has had a rough time. Now, he becomes the butt of the jokes and harassment.

And take a little oriental child in a similar environment, and he becomes the butt of all kinds of cruelties that young people can inflict upon each other.

It does seem to me that if those young children got to know a little more about each other, if the Italian children learned a little more about the Polish and the Polish learned a little more about the Italian children, all along the line, my judgment is that all of us Americans would probably grow up with a greater respect for each other.

I don't think that the average American wants to discuss the degree of prejudice that is latent in this country. But it is there. There is no sense in kidding ourselves, they are there.

We think of prejudice only in terms of "white versus black" and "black versus white." We normally think this is where the huge area of prejudice exists. But I think I am safe in saying that, subliminally, a great deal of prejudice among the various ethnic groups, I think,

could be eliminated by a greater emphasis on the fact that all of us, as Americans, stem from some form of immigrant blood in one generation or another.

Some can date their heritage back four or five generations, and some only one generation, and some within the last decade. But do you believe that this is a problem in America and one that we have really neglected?

Mr. VALUCHEK. I firmly believe so. You are absolutely right, Mr. Congressman. I agree with you. I think what you are saying is absolutely true, and I am convinced that this legislation certainly would help to correct some of these problems that have existed over many years.

Mr. PUCINSKI. As I see it, there have been valiant efforts made by people to learn to live together. And I think we have done exceptionally well.

You know, we are the only country in the world that has this peculiarity. Most other nations in the world have a preponderance of people of one nationality and one culture—Germany, I am sure you will find probably 95 percent, and Poland you will probably find 95 percent, and Ireland, Italy. It is amazing how well we Americans have been able to adjust to these others, even though we have these deep-rooted differences of culture and values.

But my fear—and I wonder if you care to comment on this—we have grown together as we have because, I think, most people have whatever problems that were inured in them in what is called “silent desperation.” And it seems to me many of these differences now in younger people ought to be dealt with, because I don’t think young people are going to suffer them in silent desperation.

Mr. VALUCHEK. That might be true. We talked about the so-called “melting pot” concept, which was very popular. And that seemed to be a dream, but it simply didn’t work. And in spite of the fact this was very popular, we seemed to come to the realization that these youngsters are in diversity. And the fact that we are able to understand one another and understand some of the problems that each has, I think that is our strength. And if we continue with it, many of the problems, I feel, will disappear.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think the main thrust of this legislation is that we need to develop educational material that will help us Americans know each other better, know themselves better.

You take a youngster of any ethnic background, if he had some ideas about the wealth of his own cultural heritage, he will have an entirely different understanding of himself.

You take, for instance, the Mexican-American youngster, he grows up in an environment where he is discriminated against, literally persecuted. And he grows up with a tremendous inferiority complex. He probably never does learn any of the wealth of his own Spanish background. But once you have taught him something about his background, he becomes an entirely different person. And I think it is true of all human beings.

Well, I am very grateful to you, Mr. Valuchek, for coming down and giving us the benefit of your views and your committee’s views. And it is my hope, with the very important testimony of these two

strong organizations, that we will be able to fortify our own efforts to pass this legislation.

I want to congratulate you and Mr. Richards and Mr. Burgess for setting aside your partisan differences long enough to get down here to join the ranks for this legislation. That makes me very pleased. I don't know that we get that kind of joint expression too often.

Thank you very much.

I would like to insert in the record after today's testimony some statements describing the outstanding multiculture institute in San Francisco. After those statements I am inserting in alphabetical order the name of the sender of letters endorsing H.R. 14910.

The subcommittee stands adjourned. We will now proceed to try to mark up this bill.

(Whereupon, at 11 a.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at the call of the chair.)

APPENDIX

MILWAUKEE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
Milwaukee, Wis., March 19, 1970.

Congressman ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PUCINSKI: Thank you for sending me information on H.R. 14910, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill.

May I suggest that you give consideration to including in Section 904, part 1, a reference also to historical society staff personnel. In the case of my own institution, we have two people on our staff actively engaged in ethnic and immigration research and writing, and our research collections include considerable material on ethnic groups in Milwaukee. This experience, knowledge, and prior program would be an asset in attaining the objectives of the bill, but may be by-passed by the limitation to only colleges and universities. I am sure other state and local historical agencies throughout the country are in a position to make worthwhile contributions similar to ours.

Sincerely,

HARRY H. ANDERSON.
Executive Director.

STATEMENT OF JOSEPH L. ALIOTO, MAYOR, CITY AND COUNTY OF
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

My name is Joseph L. Alioto and I am Mayor of the City and County of San Francisco. I wish to testify in support of H.R. 14910, which is of great interest to me. We have in San Francisco an effort known as the Multi-Culture Project which embraces the idea of H.R. 14910 and which has demonstrated to me and to the satisfaction of expert observers the validity and importance of this idea.

The Multi-Culture Project was first proposed by Frances Sussna in 1965, and has been developed and implemented by the Multi-Culture Institute which Miss Sussna directs. The President of the Institute, and a tireless worker on its behalf, is Supervisor Terry A. Francois, an outstanding public official who is a great credit to the City of San Francisco as well as to his own Black people.

Nothing is more fundamental to the American ideal and our democracy than close and harmonious relations among citizens of all racial and ethnic groups. I know of no program that promotes this goal better than the Multi-Culture Project.

By giving children a sense of pride and identity with their own group, the Multi-Culture Project motivates them to be better students and to be better citizens.

It has been my fervent hope to see the concepts of the Multi-Culture Program reach vast numbers of American children. Through the bill under discussion, this may be possible.

Thank you.

CROATIAN FRATERNAL UNION OF AMERICA,
Pittsburgh, Pa., February 23, 1970.

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PUCINSKI: Lest you think I am not interested in H.R. 14910, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill, I hasten to advise you I am deeply appreciative of you and your co-sponsors in introducing this bill. It has great merit and will fill a need that has existed for far too many years in the United States.

I am not in a position to make a detailed observation of the bill and its purposes because of a very busy work load. However, I will be writing you in the very near future, but at this time would ask of you whether I am permitted to utilize your summary of the bill for distribution to various societies in the hope of receiving some publicity in their official organs?

My very best wishes for success.

Respectfully yours,

THOMAS R. BALABAN, *General Counsel.*

STATEMENT OF CASIMIR BIELEN, DIRECTOR, PUBLIC AFFAIRS, OHIO DIVISION OF
THE AMERICAN CONGRESS, CLEVELAND, OHIO

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

Be it resolved that the Ohio Division of the Polish American Congress Support Congressman Roman Pucinski in his efforts to establish Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers in educational institutions which would develop curriculum and train teachers for the study of America's major identifiable ethnic groups.

U.S. Congressman Roman C. Pucinski (D-Illinois) sponsored legislation for the U.S. Government to spend 30 million in 1970 and 1971 for developing educational courses in elementary and secondary schools which will lead to better understanding among ethnic groups in the U.S.

Congressman Pucinski is the Chairman of the House General Subcommittee on Education.

Each center would create curriculum materials for the elementary and secondary schools on the history, geography, literature, society, art, music, language, drama, economy of a particular ethnic culture. It would also serve as a distribution center for these materials to school systems throughout the U.S. In addition, teachers would be trained at these centers in the use of these materials.

GRANTS TO BE MADE

The U.S. Commissioner of Education would be authorized to make grants to public and private nonprofit educational agencies and organizations for the development and operation of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers.

"In our heterogeneous nation," explained Pucinski, "every elementary and high school student should have an opportunity to study in depth about the ethnic culture of his family and forefathers and the contributions of his ethnic heritage to the American way of life. He should also be able to study about other ethnic cultures. Our sense of nationhood is enhanced by recognizing the richly diverse makeup of our pluralistic society," he added.

According to the Illinois Congressman, the bill "would enable our youth to develop greater awareness and appreciation of the significant contributions of all ethnic groups to the American heritage."

THE PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLORE SOCIETY,
Williamsport, Pa., March 11, 1970.

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PUCINSKI: David Hufford, State Folklorist of Pennsylvania, has recently sent me a copy of the summary of H.R. 14910, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill, currently having hearings before your committee; and I have found it so interesting that I could not resist a very strong urge to write you about it. I want not only to express my enthusiastic endorsement of the bill, but also to comment upon certain related matters which seem to me important. I hope you will not consider me presumptuous.

First, the purposes of the bill seem to me admirable. The culture of the United States is the first genuinely and significantly pluralistic culture to develop under one flag in all history, a fact that has been and will be of great importance to our position of leadership in an increasingly variegated global context; and

for entirely too long that very pluralism has been neglected, indeed, for all practical purposes, denied by the "melting pot" conception of immigration and acculturation that, so far as I know, still prevails in elementary and secondary school teaching. H.R. 14910 offers the possibility of a much-needed corrective for this situation, and I applaud your efforts heartily.

Second, I hope there is or will be some recognition on the part of those sponsoring and administering this legislation that the data and discipline of folklore can make a very important contribution to the achievement of the bill's objectives. I do not undervalue the activities of outstanding individuals from this or that ethnic group in the worlds of art, science, and politics (the kind of "ethnic contribution" one normally hears about when he hears about it at all), but these achievements provide little or no understanding, hence no appreciation, of the whole way of life these individuals came from and the multiple traditions—of belief, custom, art, cookery, entertainment, etc.—that make up that way of life. It is through these expressions of the common life of an ethnic group that we can best come to know where they are really at; and since these traditions, their development and meaning, are the principal concern of folklorists, I hope they will be heavily relied upon in the implementation of H.R. 14910's provisions.

Third, I should like to call your attention to what folklorists—so far as I know, only folklorists—in Pennsylvania have already envisioned and, to a meagre extent, accomplished in the collection and study of ethnic materials. In addition to the Anglo-American matrix culture (and the "Pennsylvania Dutch" in the south-eastern counties, who have been done up one side and down the other), Pennsylvania offers a more variegated ethnic landscape than almost any place in the country. These ethnic enclaves have tended to cluster in three areas, the environs of Philadelphia, Wilkes Barre-Scranton, and Pittsburgh. While there has been, as yet, very little systematic collection and study of these almost overwhelmingly abundant traditions (indeed, the majority of the enclaves themselves have yet to be specifically located and mapped), we have made a beginning. Foremost has been the establishment by the Pennsylvania legislature of the Ethnic Culture Survey, directed by the State Folklorist (who is on the staff of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission), and charged with the task of identifying and describing the many ethnic groups resident in Pennsylvania. Also, the Graduate Department of Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia (one of the four preeminent folklore schools in the country, the others being at the University of Texas, UCLA, and Indiana University) has trained and is training folklorists, most of whom have ancillary minors in Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology, etc., who could be of inestimable value in the operation of the Centers H.R. 14910 proposes to establish. Then, in Pittsburgh, there already exist twenty-five or thirty variously well-established ethnic organizations. These came into being and have been sustained chiefly by their interest in the performance of traditional songs and dances at the annual Pittsburgh Folk Festival, but they are organizations drawn from the ethnic enclaves they represent and offer obvious opportunities for the collection and study of the traditions they possess and have access to. In addition, Point Park College in downtown Pittsburgh, the new headquarters of the Pennsylvania Folklore Society, is instituting a series of courses in folklore next fall which will inevitably involve students in the study of these local ethnic groups.

I must apologize for taking up so much of your time with what now seems like a very long letter, indeed. I can only hope you will find some of the things I have said interesting and perhaps useful.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT H. BYINGTON,
Executive Secretary.

EAST ASIAN STUDIES CENTER,
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA,
Los Angeles, Calif., February 2, 1970.

Congressman ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PUCINSKI: I am in receipt of your letter of January 21 concerning the proposed bill for the establishment of Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers.

I have been encouraged by the growing awareness in this country of the possible contributions of various ethnic groups to the multi-cultural American society. I enclose a copy of an article I wrote a few months ago which has drawn a good deal of attention abroad as well as in this country. The Bureau of Intergroup Relations of the California State Department of Education has reprinted it for dissemination in the State.

We are developing a series of courses at the University of Southern California dealing with the problems of Oriental-Americans. Any extension of this new interest into the elementary and secondary schools would be a forward move likely to contribute to a further enrichment of contemporary American society. There is still inadequate knowledge of the needs and problems of ethnic groups such as the Chinese-Americans and the Japanese-Americans, and your proposal of developing curriculum materials and training teachers in this field would meet a real need. I hope that your bill will lead to positive and constructive action in this area of educational activity.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE H. E. CHEN, *Director.*

[From the Los Angeles Times, June 8, 1969]

THE ORIENTAL-AMERICAN'S PLIGHT

(By Theodore H. E. Chen)

In the midst of rapid social change, when ethnic minorities are asserting their rights and raising their position, the Oriental-Americans are unsure of their place in American society. They are not a part of the majority, of course, but are they included in the minorities? Hardly so.

When government agencies talk about ethnic minorities, they think primarily of the blacks and the browns. When industry opens up job opportunities for minority groups, they do not have in mind the Chinese or the Japanese. Some universities that plan ethnic studies provide American-Indian and Asian studies, but the focus is on black and brown studies.

An Oriental-American student I know used to get summer jobs without difficulty. This year he was told that available jobs must first be offered to minority groups and therefore he would not get one. Excluded from the majority and left out of the minorities, the Oriental-Americans find themselves in a peculiar position. Neither majority nor minority, they are a nondescript group. Too often, they have become a forgotten group.

BENEFITS NOT SHARED

The white majority has made concessions to the blacks and browns, but the benefits are not shared by the Oriental-Americans. Theoretically, the blacks and browns are fighting for all minority groups, but you can't blame them for not sharing the benefits they have won by hard struggle and bitter fight. After all, few Orientals have raised their voice of protest or joined in the struggle. Why should they expect to reap the fruits of other people's labor?

The Oriental-Americans are confronted with a dilemma. Many of them are prone to continue their life-long habits of hard work and quiet acceptance of second-rate citizenship. Those who have raised their economic and social position have done so by dogged individual effort, forging ahead in the face of handicaps and various forms of discrimination. They have refrained from joint action.

But individual effort seems insufficient in these days of strife and struggle. Should they take group action to press their case as a minority group entitled to its share of the better life that seems to be now within reach of other minority groups?

SUCCESS (?) STORIES

Sadao Nakamoto, a gardner, works hard all his life with one central purpose, to give his children a better life in America. He has two children in college and two more will soon be ready for college. His oldest son is preparing to be a dentist. Nakamoto hopes that all his children will become professional people and not have to toil the way he did. He knows that it will not be easy for his children to move to the top of American society, but he has not thought of any other way than persevering individual effort.

The Wongs have been successful in business. They have a comfortable home in a nice residential area. Their neighbors did not like it when a non-Caucasian

family moved into their midst, but after some years fairly friendly relations seem to have developed.

The Wongs enjoy the material luxuries of the well-to-do. Their neighbors now talk proudly about the Chinese family in their area, to prove that they have no prejudice at all. As for the Wongs, they are so well satisfied with life that they are afraid to do anything that may spoil what they already have. They are happy with the feeling that they have "arrived." Have they, really? Or are they only near the entrance and probably destined to remain there for a long time?

The trouble is that many of the young Oriental-Americans do not share their parents' complacency or acceptance of status quo. There are signs of restlessness among them. Unlike their parents and grandparents, they have no cultural or emotional ties with the Orient. Their whole life is in America, and they are molded by the forces active in American society. They are sensitive to the cataclysmic changes in American life and inspired by visions of freedom and equal opportunity that their parents dismissed as impossible.

The Oriental population in America has been admired for the traditions of family solidarity and close ties. But these traditions are now strained by a growing generation gap arising from different attitudes toward American society. The young tend to be activists to whom change makes a greater appeal than the maintenance of the established order. More and more of them are beginning to feel that their parents are more interested in personal success than in social progress.

Oriental youth is beginning to question whether the hard-work, long-suffering philosophy of the older generation is adequate today. They are critical of the seeming indifference of their parents to the civil rights movement. They feel disturbed that in the current discussions of the role of ethnic minorities the voice of the Chinese community has not been heard, and that in the gigantic struggle for a better life for minorities the adult Chinese population has, in the main, stood aside as spectators.

The participation of Oriental youth in protest activities has not yet assumed proportions large enough to attract public attention. The names of a few activists who have joined the militant groups have not yet appeared in newspaper headlines.

But if the number grows, as it probably will, the gap between Oriental youth and the older generation will widen, and the effects will be unfortunate both for the traditionally stable Oriental family and for American society at large.

On the other hand, it may be possible to narrow the gap if the adult Orientals realize that they have to readjust their life and their thinking in the light of new conditions. They must get out of their little shells of isolated individualism and familism and show that they are concerned about social issues and that they care about the less fortunate in the Oriental community who have not been able to overcome the obstacles of racial prejudice. They must try to understand and to appreciate the idealism of the young who will not be satisfied with the limited material benefits they get from the affluent society.

The adults of the Oriental community would shudder at the thought of militant action. But by their inaction they are driving the young to extremism. The challenge to them is to explore ways and means of expressing their social concern short of riots and violence. Between inaction and extreme militancy there must be room for many forms of peaceful protests, positive affirmation of rights, and jointly conceived proposals, even aggressive demands, for improving the lot of Oriental-Americans.

INACTION IS HARMFUL

Unless the adult Oriental community responds to the challenge, the young will be further alienated by what they consider to be a lack of concern on the part of their elders. By inaction, the Oriental community also disqualifies itself for the new role that is now possible for ethnic minorities in this country.

Furthermore, while the majority yields to the pressure of the blacks and the browns, the position of the Oriental-Americans may even deteriorate, for some of the opportunities heretofore available to them may be taken away to be offered to the groups now recognized as minorities.

Meanwhile, the majority group will be blissfully unaware of the problem and will continue to ignore the needs of the Oriental-Americans. After all, haven't the Chinese and the Japanese always managed to take care of themselves? Didn't the Chinese communities grow and thrive despite the persecution and exclusion laws of the last century? Didn't the Japanese survive the exile—the

"relocation"—of World War II and later rebuild their communities after having lost practically all of their valuable assets? The Orientals are no problem at all; they do not need help and do not ask for it.

YOUTH DISAGREE

But the young do not see it that way. On the one hand, they disassociate themselves from their parents' complacency and proclivity to get along with "the establishment." On the other hand, they do not accept the majority view that the Orientals are no problem simply because they have not created trouble. Born and educated in the United States, they have striven to be full-fledged Americans, but they are beginning to realize that they are considered hyphenated Americans, at best. They have not received the full share of what by their birthright they are entitled to.

The adult Oriental community and the white majority share the opportunity and the responsibility of providing constructive leadership. Those in the Oriental community who are in a position to lead must not allow their personal success and material comfort to blind them to the injustices and discriminatory practices that are still prevalent. The white majority can help, too, by recognizing the problems of a silent minority which tends to escape notice.

Is it necessary to wait for riots before something is done? The white majority has an opportunity to show that extremism is not the only way for minority groups to gain recognition.

FEDERATION OF UKRAINIAN STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS OF AMERICA, INC.,
College Park, Md., February 11, 1970.

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
U.S. House of Representatives,
General Subcommittee on Education,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PUCINSKI: In conversation with Mr. Joseph Lesawyer, President of the Ukrainian National Association, I was informed about your part in introducing and sponsoring H.R. 14910, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill. As the outgoing President of the Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations of America, Inc., I would like to express my congratulations to you for your part in introducing this valuable piece of legislation. I sincerely hope that the Bill will find favorable reaction in the Committee Hearings. If possible, I will attend the Hearings, since I firmly believe that the role of ethnic groups in the United States has not received sufficient attention.

I hope that your Committee will take into consideration the opinions and needs of college students of various ethnic backgrounds. It is my experience that the students are indeed in need of support in their search for identity, and their ethnic background can give them this much needed identity.

Once again, congratulations and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

ANDRIJ W. CHORNODOLSKY.

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL CENTER SERVING ONONDAGA AND
OSWEGO COUNTIES, NEW YORK STATE,
March 10, 1970.

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Committee on Education and Labor,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PUCINSKI: This document represents a report of the conference held on February 4, 1970, in Syracuse, New York, relative to the need for an Ethnic Curriculum Materials Demonstration Center. Enclosed with this letter you will find the Appendices in full to which I will refer in my March 23 report.

I am looking forward to responding to the invitation issued by the General Sub-Committee on Education and to testify on H.R. 14910, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill.

I am preparing my report which will be in your hands by next week. The report will consist of two major parts. The first will be a summary of the conference held in Syracuse, and the second part will consist of my rationale for

the establishment of these centers. Included in my rationale, I would like to give an audio and visual presentation of activities which took place in a school in Syracuse, New York, where I served as Principal for five years.

Thank you for giving me the opportunity to present these materials.

Very truly yours,

NICHOLAS COLLIS,
Regional Director.

Enclosure.

ECCO, the Educational and Cultural Center serving Onondaga and Oswego Counties in New York State, is one of sixteen Centers comprising the Regional Center Network in partnership with the Center for Planning and Innovation of the State Education Department. This Network exists to encourage and improve comprehensive educational planning at all levels to support the development of educational systems responsive to the needs and aspirations of every person and relevant to his society. These Centers are funded under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

ECCO is located in downtown Syracuse, New York. The area has a population of approximately 600,000 of whom nearly 150,000 are students in elementary and secondary schools. Greater Syracuse is a center of diversified industry, a regional trading center, a marketing center for a large rural area which specializes in dairy and fruit farming, and a transportation hub. It is located on the East-West New York State Thruway and on the North-South Interstate 81 Expressway. In Oswego County, the Port of Oswego opens the area to world trade opportunities through the St. Lawrence Seaway.

APPENDIX A.—ETHNIC CURRICULUM MATERIALS DEMONSTRATION CENTER CONFERENCE, FEBRUARY 4, 1970)

(Cosponsored by ECCO and Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.)

[From the Syracuse Herald-Journal, Feb. 3, 1970]

EDUCATORS MEET HERE TO AIR ETHNIC CENTER

More than 50 educators from across the state will meet in Syracuse tomorrow to discuss the formation of an Ethnic Curriculum Materials Demonstration Center to serve northeastern United States.

The center would provide materials to teachers in order to give each child in their class information about his ethnic background.

The meeting, co-sponsored by ECCO, the Educational and Cultural Center for Onondaga and Oswego Counties, and Syracuse University will be held from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. at the Downtown Holiday Inn.

Guest speaker, via a special teleconference from Washington, D.C., will be Congressman Roman Pucinski (D-Chicago) who is sponsoring a bill which would authorize the Commissioner of Education to make grants for the establishment of "Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers, reflecting readily identifiable ethnic groups."

The centers would be directed to "develop curriculum materials reflecting the contributions of a particular ethnic group to the American Heritage; disseminate such materials to elementary and secondary schools, and provide training for persons utilizing or preparing to utilize such materials."

The morning session of tomorrow's conference will consist of an introduction by Professor David Welton of the S. U. School of Education, conference chairman; welcoming remarks by Dr. David Krathwohl, Dean of the S. U. School of Education, and Congressman Pucinski's speech.

Also on the morning agenda is a speech by Mrs. Elizabeth Ayre, director of the Regional Special Education Instructional Materials Center at S.U.N.Y. in Buffalo, and a member of a research and development committee for the planning of a National Media Center in Washington.

Mrs. Ayre will describe how a media center was organized for special education, so the group will be able to relate the information to the formation of a similar center on ethnic studies, according to Nicholas Collis, ECCO director.

BACKGROUND

ECCO was contacted in October 1969, by Miss Marion Wilden-Hart of the Syracuse University. She requested that ECCO assist Syracuse University in

calling a conference of interested educators to discuss the feasibility of establishing a center for the collection, demonstration, development and dissemination of curriculum materials for ethnic studies. Miss Patricia Hallock, the Director of Resources and Services for ECCO, met with a designated committee from Syracuse University, consisting of Mr. Bruce Dewey, Center for Instructional Communications, Dr. David Welton of the School of Education, and Miss Wilden-Hart to develop the plans for this conference.

In November 1969, the Honorable Roman C. Pucinski, Representative to the United States Congress from Illinois, presented to the Congress a Resolution calling for the establishment of Title IX to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended, for the establishment of Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers. On Monday, January 26, 1970, Mr. Nicholas Collis, Director, and Dr. Luton Reed, Associate Director, of ECCO met with Congressman Pucinski and discussed the possibility of his participating in the conference planned for February 4, 1970, in Syracuse. Arrangements were made at this time for Congressman Pucinski to address the conference by tele-conference.

A selected group of educators from New York State attended, representing the State Education Department, New York State Department of Social Services (Bureau of Indian Affairs), the Boards of Cooperative Educational Services, the Onondaga Library System, and major institutions of higher learning of New York State, namely Columbia University, Cornell University, New York University, State University of New York, City University of New York, Syracuse University, and University of Rochester. Individuals from local area educational and cultural institutions were also included.

CONFERENCE—FEBRUARY 4, 1970

Approximately fifty New York State educators convened in the Skaneateles Room of the Downtown Holiday Inn, Syracuse, New York, at 10:00 AM on February 4, 1970.

Introductions were made by Dr. David Welton, Syracuse University, Conference Chairman. Remarks by Dr. David Krathwohl, Dean of the School of Education, Syracuse University, and Mr. Nicholas Collis, Director, ECCO, were presented.

SPEAKERS

Mrs. Elizabeth Ayre, Director of the Regional Special Education Instructional Materials Center, Buffalo, New York, presented SEIMC as a model of an information network in the United States and a mode of operation that has been developed. (See Appendix I.)

Following Mrs. Ayre's address, Congressman Roman C. Pucinski made a major presentation to the Conference via tele-conference from Washington, D.C. (His remarks are included in full as Appendix I.) Congressman Pucinski supplied the rationale behind his H.R. 14910 along with his personal feelings and support for Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers.

SMALL GROUP DISCUSSIONS

After a question and answer period with Congressman Pucinski, the conferees were divided into small groups for the discussion of four topics:

- a. The need for an Ethnic Curriculum Materials Demonstration Center.
- b. The functions of an Ethnic Curriculum Materials Demonstration Center.
- c. The organization of an Ethnic Curriculum Materials Demonstration Center.
- d. Next steps: Where do we go from here?

Following the small group discussions, group summaries were presented to the total audience by recorders and next steps were determined.

The small groups agreed that the need for the establishment of Centers for collection, development, and distribution of materials on all ethnic groups which make up the U.S. has been felt in New York State for a considerable length of time, and this need is only heightened by the presentation of Congressman Pucinski. The groups, speaking both as individuals and as representatives of their institutions, indicated their willingness to cooperate in activities which would bring such centers into operation. There are many distorted ideas which currently exist within the U.S. which involve various ethnic groups. Even though there are materials available which could help remove these ideas, the materials are not easily accessible, however, to the classroom teacher and to the communities where they are most needed. Often materials exist in isolated collections in

college, university, and schools or in specialized libraries around the country. The establishment of centers which could collect and disseminate materials in support of programs of ethnic studies, especially at the elementary and secondary level, is a highly desirable activity and one which should be supported in every way possible. A need exists for a survey of that which is currently available in the U.S. in terms of materials since no such survey, to the knowledge of the participants, has been conducted. Once a survey is completed, then it would be more feasible to define the needs of the region and the nation for the establishment of a network of centers.

Since one of the major sources of information concerning the ethnic groups which make up the general public of a region are the people themselves, it is highly desirable that representatives of the various ethnic groups be involved in the further planning of ethnic curriculum materials centers to support studies of any particular group.

It was also stated and supported that functionally the centers could assist the schools and other institutions and groups utilizing the materials in defining and developing plans for the implementation of these materials into existing programs. The groups were quite positive in their feelings that local autonomy should be recognized in the establishment of the centers and that no one set of rules be established which would require the operation of all centers in exactly the same way. In effect, the centers should be allowed to establish their own operating procedures within limits and establish their own means necessary for meeting needs.

The participants in the conference raised questions concerning the size of the areas which could be served most effectively by a regional center and agreed that a large geographical area might be served more economically than a small geographical area. This would eliminate the possibility of fragmentation of resources which might result from the establishment of a number of small centers rather than a small number of large centers.

Among the objectives which might be established for such centers were:

- (1) To collect and distribute materials to support the teaching of all cultures.
- (2) To prepare and develop teaching materials.
- (3) To disseminate information on the materials available to all educational institutions.
- (4) To act as a regional clearinghouse for instructional materials and other materials.
- (5) To sponsor research and development in the area of cultural studies or ethnic studies.
- (6) To train teachers through workshops and other preservice and inservice programs.
- (7) To meet the needs of the community and its individuals by supporting studies into the ethnic structure of communities and of major geographical regions.

There was substantial agreement to the concept that the centers should be part of a state-wide or national network rather than separate and isolated institutions. With a network structure, one center would be able to call upon the resources of another center far more easily. The network might be controlled by the establishment of a central office which would formulate policies and would work with the various institutions involved in the network to insure that comparable service as being provided by all elements, much as the ERIC system is established. Each element of the network could become a clearinghouse for a single ethnic group or for several ethnic groups. In the establishment of a network, all avenues of financing should be explored, private, institutional, local, state, and federal. Local involvement within a region is essential in order to ensure continuing support and use over an extended period of time.

The participants also indicated that it was incumbent upon all interested parties to give their support (both as individuals and as representatives of institutions) to the legislation proposed by Congressman Pucinski. Participants indicated their willingness to contact their parent institutions in order to gain institutional support on a continuing basis.

The consensus of the participants in the conference was that the investigation of the feasibility of establishing Ethnic Curriculum Materials Centers should be continued and that it was appropriate that a planning committee or commission be formed which would represent the interested agencies and groups. The committee would formulate objectives and procedures leading toward establishment of such centers.

The planning committee would have two basic functions: 1) to further assess the need for the establishment of Ethnic Curriculum Materials Demonstration

Centers, and 2) to determine a variety of alternatives for meeting these needs. The committee would involve representatives of ethnic groups in order to obtain expert assistance. They further agreed that ECCO continue to serve in the planning facilitation role and assist the planning committee in its operation once it is formed. Several members of the group indicated their willingness to serve on the planning committee, most notably Dr. David Welton, School of Education, Syracuse University, Dr. Taisto Niemi, Librarian, LeMoyne College, and Mr. Rhys Roberts, Associate Director, American Heritage Study Center, Manlius, New York. Dr. Welton agreed to serve as Syracuse University contact in the planning of the planning committee activities.

SUMMARY

The consensus of the conference participants was:

1. That there is a major need for the establishment of Ethnic Curriculum Materials Demonstration Centers within the educational structure of the United States.
2. That the leadership for such establishment could come from such a group as was convened.
3. That the rationale, philosophy and general content of H.R. 14910 as expressed by Congressman Pucinski be supported by this group and its individuals.
4. That prior to any major program of establishment, an assessment survey is needed to determine what materials and services already exist in the areas of ethnic teaching; and that the possibility of the development of a Resource Directory be explored.
5. That individuals representing ethnic viewpoints be incorporated into all efforts from the very beginning stage forward.
6. That the centers be part of a state-wide or national network rather than separate and isolated institutions.
7. That a planning committee or commission be formed to 1) further assess the need for the establishment of Ethnic Curriculum Materials Demonstration Centers, and 2) to determine alternatives for meeting these needs. (NOTE: An agenda is presently being determined by Dr. Welton, Mr. Roberts and Dr. Niemi, for a meeting of the Interim Task Force Committee in late March.)

APPENDIX 1.—NEW YORK STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT DIVISION FOR HANDICAPPED CHILDREN NEW YORK STATE NETWORK OF SPECIAL EDUCATION INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS CENTERS

1. PURPOSE OF THE SEIMC NETWORK

- A. Provide a cooperative, united effort in furthering the development of quality education for handicapped children in New York State.
- B. Identify handicapped children and facilitate their placement into an educational program.
- C. Act as a change agent for the development of improved curriculum, methods, and materials to be used in education of the handicapped.
- D. Establish a direct, systematic communication system for exchange of educational information.
 1. CEC-ERIC to IMC/RMC national office.
 2. IMC/RMC to National Centers.
 3. National Centers (NYS) to local ASEIMC's.
 4. Local ASEIMC's to individual teachers and other personnel concerned with education for the handicapped.
- E. Attempt to eliminate unnecessary duplications of time and effort in development of new materials and approaches for teaching the handicapped.
- F. Provide for the establishment of local units (ASEIMC's) for direct service to educators of the handicapped.
- G. Provide an administrative and consultative staff at the Regional level for maximum utilization of personnel services to the Network.
- H. Coordinate the specializations of the various local units in order to conserve staff, time, and expenditures for projects.
 1. New York (Hunter)—Evaluation from the development for the Network.
 2. Buffalo—Computer Based Resource Unit development for the Network.
 3. Albany—Union Catalog development for the Network.
 4. Albany—Centralized processing of materials for the network.

5. Broome County—Distribution Center for ERIC microfiche to the Network.

6. Washington, Warren, Hamilton County—Production of transparencies for the Network.

1. Assure that the effects of funding of any project for the handicapped will reach all handicapped children in the State.

11. SERVICES OF THE SEIMC NETWORK

A. Provide for preview and loan of collections of professional and instructional materials from the Regional Centers.

B. Provide inservice training to teachers in the use of specialized materials.

C. Provide for evaluation of materials and dissemination of results of evaluation to the field.

D. Provide administrative and consultative services to the field.

E. Publish and distribute a Newsletter to the field.

F. Provide for periodic dissemination of information on new products, approaches, and methods for teaching the handicapped.

G. Establish and maintain liaison with other units of the Education Department.

H. Act as a direct and indirect source of reference and research results in the field of education.

I. Produce new materials for use by the field.

J. Produce new materials to be used in training educators of the handicapped.

K. Produce and update a master file of Network holdings (Union Catalog).

L. Act as a Clearinghouse for textbook materials for the visually handicapped in New York State.

M. Act as a support unit for the staff of the Division for Handicapped.

APPENDIX II.—ETHNIC CURRICULUM MATERIALS DEMONSTRATION CENTER CONFERENCE, FEBRUARY 4, 1970

STATEMENTS BY THE HONORABLE ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, U.S. CONGRESSMAN

"I have said many times that this nation thrives on a deep sense of ethnic community. It flourishes on the pride of origins shared by the people, both as committed Americans and as devoted individuals with strong ties to their own indigenous neighborhoods and groups. In this past century, our society has begun to deny the existence of these origins. We have been challenging the concept of ethnicity. We have been eroding the delicate tendrils that link us with our past. I believe we have oversold the value of homogenization, sacrificing diversity of our pluralistic society for the sake of uniformity. As a consequence, many of our ethnic groups have developed a profound sense of cultural inferiority; a feeling that they are second-best Americans because they have carefully preserved their original languages, their customs, and traditions and their unique styles of life. This problem, I believe, prevades every city and every state and every corner of our nation. In Chicago alone, it can affect the lives of at least 30% of the population who are foreign born or first-generation citizens.

The most serious casualties of this quasi-cultural obliteration, in my judgment, have been the young. Today, our nation's youth are plagued by a sense of ruthlessness; many of them are caught up in a malaria of alienation and are channeling their energies to search for identity. In a very real sense, these are the forgotten young Americans with no feeling of belonging in our heterogeneous society. Society's transmitters of cultural values, its primary and secondary schools, have taught these young people nothing of their own ethnic backgrounds. This omission, in my judgment, has led them to conclude that their heritage has no status in the value system of the society. Therefore, it is scarcely surprising that so many young people have failed to develop a positive self image. Typically, and I am sure all of those assembled at your meeting there today will have to admit, school history lessons teach about one or two countries and remain indifferent to the rest of the world. Their art, their music, literature and language classes are equally narrow and explicit, thus, reinforcing a distorted picture of their environment and ancestry. Such a pernicious educational deficiency warrants the attention of the entire population and of members of the Congress as its representatives.

I believe that the fact that we have tried to homogenize two hundred million Americans into a single monolith is today our greatest source of problems and difficulty. Most other nations don't have that problem. Denmark has a 90% Danish population; England has an overwhelmingly English population; Poland has a 96% Polish Catholic population; Italy has predominantly Italians; Germany has predominantly Germans. And so I think we ought to recognize as Americans the uniqueness of our position as a nation as the uniqueness of our people. I think that we ought to realize that America is a mosaic of many cultures and these cultures have to be recognized.

It is appalling to me, absolutely appalling, how little we Americans know about each other. Then we wonder why we have racial tensions, and why we have religious bigotry, and why we have discrimination because of national origin, and we wonder why we have all of these underlying problems. One might say, 'Well, don't people all live together? Don't the Poles and the Italians and Jewish people and the Irish intermarry? And don't they all live together?' Yes, they do. But still, they know very little about each other. All they know is what they learned from their neighbors, from the street. So it seems to me that the great challenge if we are to preserve this republic of ours, this great nation that has attracted people from many cultures, we have got to start recognizing our uniqueness.

I discard the statement of the "melting pot." I don't think we ought to be a melting pot. I don't think that we ought to try and take every single human being that comes to America and homogenize him into the so-called "Puritan Ethos." In my judgment, I think that we ought to recognize that each American is different in terms of his cultural values, and we ought to recognize that there is no conflict, absolutely no conflict, between being a good, loyal, and dedicated, proud American and still understanding yourself as to your ancestry and ethnic background. Only when we start realizing and understanding each other's ethnic values, can we then start understanding each other. Only then can we then give real fulfillment to equality, appreciation, understanding, mutual respect. And so I have introduced the Ethnic Heritage Study Center Act of 1969.

This Act will establish a number of ethnic heritage study centers each devoted to the development of curriculum materials dealing with one ethnic group or one regional group of ethnic cultures for use in elementary and secondary schools. I understand that many elementary and secondary schools would like to institute courses on ethnicity. They would like to tell the young people in their schools something about themselves, something about their background. Unfortunately, under our present system, there is practically no source material for such lectures. We get it out of travel leaflets, and travel kits, and some travel agencies. And in the libraries we may find a book here and a book there about a certain identifiable ethnic group. But there has been no real effort made to develop materials for classroom use.

Under my Bill, such material would pertain to a particular group's history, geography, society, literature, art, music, language, drama, economy and general culture, and to the group's contribution to the American Heritage. Each Center would also train teachers to use these materials and would make them widely available to elementary and secondary schools throughout the United States. Teachers could utilize these curriculum packages and study units in their regular classes or as the basis for creating totally new types of educational programs. An Ethnic Heritage Studies Center would be operated by public, or private non-profit educational agencies and organizations to design and implement its program. Each Center would draw on the existing resources of colleges and universities, the expertise of elementary and secondary school teachers and the special knowledge of ethnic groups in local communities as well as foreign students pursuing their education in this country. The Bill would authorize ten million dollars for FY 1970 and 20 million dollars in FY 71 for these purposes.

As a major consequence of this Bill, our young people would be able to develop greater awareness and appreciation of the importance of all ethnic civilizations to our national heritage. Every one of the 51.5 million students in the primary grades and high schools could study in depth about the ethnic culture of his family and forefathers and about their contributions to the American way of life. In addition, he can learn about many of the other readily identifiable ethnic groups in the country. There are a number of Congressmen co-sponsoring this legislation with me. And I am very proud to have a very good cross-section.

As H. G. Wells once wrote in the outline of history: "Our true nationality is mankind." I believe a time has come for us to teach about the contributions of all mankind to a nation, and I believe that the Ethnic Heritage Studies Center Act of 1969 would contribute to this very worthy goal. We have talked for instance about racial tensions. The average American has a very limited knowledge of the Negro in America. He knows only of the Negro who was brought here in chains four or five generations ago and brought into slavery and grew up as a sharecropper on the cotton fields of the South. He knows nothing about the ethnic heritage of the non-white community, and the non-white nations and the non-white cultures of Africa and the other countries of the world. It occurs to me that the best way that we can really bring deeper understanding and respect for each other and citizens of the United States and as residents of America is to know more about ourselves. The Ethnic Heritage Bill which I am sponsoring would provide a beginning that would give our universities and our colleges all over the country the tools with which we could start developing curriculum, film slides, various other lecture materials, and resource materials, so that finally we can start grappling with the problem.

I am amazed, really amazed, that we have survived as long as we did, when you reflect upon the fact that there has been practically no effort made in this great nation of ours to understand each other better and to know each other better. But I do believe that much of the tension, the kind of up-tight attitude that has affected the country is created by the fact that we have tried to restructure mankind, and I don't mean to do that. As I said in the beginning of my remarks, I just don't think you can take 200,000,000 human beings and homogenize them into a monolith. I would much rather think of us as a mosaic and then build on that mosaic. That's what this Bill is all about, that's what I am trying to do here in Congress, and I need a great deal of help and I hope that we can get it from the fine people attending the seminar today.

[From the Post-Standard, Feb. 5, 1970]

HERITAGE STUDY.—ETHNIC CENTER GAINS SUPPORT

(By Andrij Bilyk)

A bill presently in Congress designed to increase opportunities for elementary and secondary school pupils to study the cultural heritages of the major ethnic groups in America yesterday received support here.

Besides fostering understanding among American ethnic groups, the bill, which, if passed, will provide \$10 million in federal funds, will serve to give each pupil pride in his ethnic background.

Some 50 university, library and social service educators from the state, meeting in the Downtown Holiday Inn, agreed yesterday to establish a committee to perform an in-depth study of the possible organization and function of an ethnic curriculum materials center.

Rep. Roman C. Pucinski, D-Chicago, sponsor of the bill, spoke to the group from Washington via tele-conference hook-up and urged support for his ethnic heritage studies center proposal.

Pucinski said it is time to bring about a change in American attitudes concerning the plurality of cultures in this country.

As envisioned by Pucinski, the center will develop curriculum materials covering the history, geography, society, economy, literature, art music, drama, language and general culture of an ethnic group, as well as the contributions of that group to the American heritage.

After the congressman spoke, the educators separated into five groups to discuss such an ethnic center.

Each group reported it favored Pucinski's measure. Together they urged that an inventory be made of available resources. They stressed the need for authenticity and inclusion of ethnic representatives.

According to a spokesman for the Educational and Cultural Center for Onondaga and Oswego Counties (ECCO), which with Syracuse University sponsored the discussion, "The consensus appears to be that there is a need for the type of center we are talking about.

"Ethnic cultures of our country are part of our heritage," the spokesman said, adding, "We will be in touch with Congressman Pucinski."

ECCO agreed to coordinate the formation of a committee to study the Pucinski proposal, but emphasized that, if an ethnic studies center is to materialize, the burden of its establishment will fall on the educators themselves.

Representatives from the State Education Department, universities, libraries and ethnic minorities will be included in the committee.

APPENDIX B.—STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Along with other colleges and universities across the nation, Syracuse University has been deeply involved in developing both teachers and educational programs to fit the needs of a tremendously varied population of school children. But even with the most highly trained specialist in the classroom, there comes a time when teachers, be they urban, suburban, or rural, recognize the need for materials that their students can identify with; materials that captivate their students and get them interested.

In many cases, what teachers want, and what students are asking for, are materials that deal with the various ethnic groups of which the students are a part. Also, at a time when our society is coming to recognize both the contributions of various ethnic groups and the multiethnic nature of the American population, and at a time when there is a need to incorporate such materials into the courses of study in our public schools and universities, we find that such ethnic curriculum materials just do not exist. Indeed American public schools are often better equipped to teach about exotic cultures, the South Sea islanders or the Netselik Eskimos, than the Negro-Americans, the Chinese-Americans, the Spanish-Americans, or for that matter, the German-Americans or Italian-Americans.

On February 4, 1970, Syracuse University demonstrated its interest in the field of ethnic curriculum materials by co-sponsoring with ECCO, the Educational and Cultural Center serving Onondaga and Oswego Counties, a meeting to explore what could be done—and what should be done—to enhance the study of various ethnic groups in the United States. Over fifty educators and interested individuals, from librarians to Indian agents from across New York State, attended the session. From the overwhelming support which grew out of the meeting, Syracuse University has agreed to coordinate the efforts of a statewide Interim Task Force Committee which will conduct an in-depth study of what can be done to develop and disseminate ethnic curriculum materials.

The need for an interest in ethnic curriculum materials already exist. The same can not be said for the materials themselves. Indeed, to produce and develop ethnic materials that are suitable for classroom use will require an effort as well as resources that go beyond those that can be supported by an individual college, university or local educational center. Thus, support from federal sources is seen as essential before such materials will come into being.

It is from this premise, then, that a number of the faculty of Syracuse University's School of Education who have been involved in the problem of ethnic studies, the Dean of the School of Education, and members of the professional staff of the Carnegie Library at Syracuse University who are working with us, lend their support and encouragement to the passage of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill.

DR. TAISTO NIEMI, DIRECTOR OF THE LIBRARY, LE MOYNE COLLEGE

"The Central New York Reference and Resources Council with memberships made up of college, university, public and special libraries, should have a deep and direct interest in an ethnic materials center. It would take little imagination to realize that these libraries do now have materials that would aid directly in providing resources for the engenderment of our ethnic cultural heritage.

One of the prime tasks in the establishment of an ethnic materials center would be to make a study or survey of existing materials, information, and services. The local American Heritage Project comes to mind as one such service. This should be a very logical research activity that the Central New York Reference and Resources Council could perform under the leadership of its Executive Secretary."

AMERICAN HERITAGE SOCIAL STUDIES CENTERS' PROPOSED ROLE IN PLANNING FOR AN ETHNIC CULTURES CENTER

1. Assist in originating support for the Pucinski Ethnic Cultures Bill among social studies teachers.
2. Assist in determining geographical area to be served by such a Center.

3. Assist in conducting an inventory of existing "ready" resources for teaching Ethnic Cultures (both material and human) which can be found in the Central New York Area.

4. Assist in conducting an inventory of "raw" material for creation of finished ethnic teaching materials.

5. Assist in conducting an inventory of materials (ready and raw) in the National Sphere which might contribute to the success of an Ethnic Cultures Center in Central New York.

6. Assist in defining roles to be played by cooperating agencies in the formation and functioning of the proposed Ethnic Cultures Center.

7. Assist in making basic decisions on network versus system organization for establishing relationships with other ethnic materials centers and liaison with related educational and cultural services.

8. Assist in making decisions on physical location desirabilities for the Center.

9. Assist in contacting existing agencies that can play auxiliary roles for establishing support of the Center.

10. Assist in determining and establishing a Potential Table of Organization.

11. Assist in determining training aims and programs for center personnel and classroom teachers.

APPENDIX C.—MODEL SAMPLES

Board of Education. City of New York. Bureau of Curriculum Development. *Secondary Schools Curriculum Guide: Teaching About Minorities in Classroom Situations*. Curriculum Bulletin, 1967-1968 Series, No. 23. Brooklyn, N.Y., Board of Education of the City of New York, 1968.

"Inter-group relations is not confined to any particular curriculum area. Situations may present themselves in any area where there is a mingling of diverse groups. In most instances some sort of immediate action is desirable, with a carefully planned follow-up to reinforce positive leanings."

Whatever the curriculum area, the classroom approaches towards fostering better intergroup relations are improved by realistic, understandable, meaningful materials and activities related to the situation at hand . . .

The main thrust of effort should be to effect changes in behavior and to increase understandings. If we can get children to respect one another's differences and their right to be different, we will have made a significant step."

Models with background materials and guidelines are presented for the American Indian, the Chinese, the Irish, the Italian, the Jewish, the Negro, the Polish, the Puerto Rican, and the Swedish.

Madison Public Schools. Human Relations—Intergroup Understanding Committee. *Education for Human Relations—Intergroup Understanding: Grades Seven Through Twelve*. Madison, Wis., Madison Public Schools, 1964.

"The suggested learning activities in human relations and intergroup education are designed to be integrated into the day-to-day teaching and learning situations in the classroom . . . Human relations education is not something added to the curriculum; rather it is a process permeating every aspect of the pupil's life, both in and out of school."

The Madison Public School teachings related to intergroup understanding serve as models working toward positive understandings in human relations and intergroup relations. Their guide offers practical techniques and activities for incorporating intergroup education understandings into the existing curriculum.

"Biographies, fiction, drama, social studies and other subject areas offer valuable tools for sensitizing students to the feelings, attitudes, and problems of representatives of differing cultural groups, and for creating respect and understanding of these differences. Pupils learn that there are many accounts of an historical event, and a critical comparison among them represents excellent education in problem solving and critical thinking. Some of the areas of concern in reading, drama, and discussion can be focused on patterns of family life, community contrasts, economic differences, adjustment to new places and situations, belonging to groups and experiences of acceptance and rejection. As a student appreciates all cultures, he comes to better understanding and appreciate his own."

Schenectady Public Schools, Schenectady, New York. Human Relations Office, 1969.

An in-service course, "Practicum in Intergroup Education" is being conducted by the Human Relations Office of the Schenectady City School District.

"This course is designed to encourage teachers to include more intergroup education in the regular instructional program. Consultants from a variety of minority and immigrant groups have been selected to emphasize the need to deal with the critical phases of different groups. We have twenty-four (24) teachers (all classroom K-12) enrolled in this course. Each participant is required to develop a demonstration lesson to eventually be filmed. Seven teachers will be filmed fairly soon. These films will be critiqued from the December 3 to the January 28th sessions. We will derive a critique from our inservice course participants. All films will be edited by the demonstration teacher and a representative of the Human Relations Office. In addition, we are lending our assistance in helping teachers develop lessons . . . the rationale is that all teachers can deal with intergroup education in the classroom. . . ."

(Excerpted from an October 22, 1969, letter from Mrs. Laura Hoke, Director, Office of Human Relations, to Mrs. Mim Brodsky, New York State Education Department.)

APPENDIX D.—CARNEGIE COMMISSION ON HIGHER EDUCATION REPORT

("Excerpts from Report of the Carnegie Commission," *New York Times*, March 2, 1970, p. 1.)

The recommendations of the Carnegie Report, a 41-page document, "A Chance to Learn: An Action Agenda for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education" was made public at a news conference at the Carnegie Corporation Offices in New York on March 3, 1970. The first report was issued in December 1968, which proposed a multi-billion dollar Federal program to finance college education of students who cannot afford it.

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education proposes "that by the year 2000, no American is deprived of the chance to go to college by barriers of race, geography, income, age or quality."

Special consideration was given to ethnic study in the curriculum. Major points were as follows:

1. Correction of ethnic imbalance is needed at the post secondary level.
2. If ethnic self awareness and sense of inferiority begin in the elementary school then we need to attack the problem there.
3. Every student can learn from his own ethnic group and those of his classmates. Students need opportunity to seek ethnic experiences.
4. All students at every level need to be aware of a variety of backgrounds.
5. Introductory courses need to be offered at the college level.

Solutions for consideration of higher education institutions:

1. Cooperative programs for groups of neighboring institutions.
2. Referral to campuses that have resources in ethnic studies.
3. Summer school opportunities sharing ethnic studies programs with students from other institutions.

CONCLUSIONS

By the year 2000 the Commission hopes that educational opportunities must be free from the last vestiges of limitations imposed by ethnic groups.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
New York, N.Y., February 24, 1970.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I regret it is no longer possible for me to testify before your distinguished General Subcommittee on Education on the Ethnic Heritage Studies bill this Thursday, February 26, 1970. Urgent matters at the University require immediate attention and necessitate my presence here.

Since I am not able to attend these hearings, I have taken the liberty of outlining for the committee's benefit certain achievements and progress Columbia University has made in providing education in national and international cultures and ethnic groups. I trust this background information will contribute to Congressional deliberation on H.R. 14910, "The Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act of 1969". In the meantime, I would hope that your committee will have the opportunity to hear from Dr. John H. Fischer, President of Teachers College,

whose views and comments relating to teacher training and curriculum development in ethnic studies would be most enlightening. As you know, Teachers College, an affiliate of Columbia University, produces more doctorates in the education field than any other graduate institution in this country. Its reputation and that of its President are widely known and acclaimed.

The oldest private university in New York City, Columbia is situated in the Morningside Heights section of Manhattan. The University offers a unique educational experience for its 27,000 students and faculty living in the nation's largest and perhaps most complicated urban environment. It has been said of our great urban centers, the "melting pots" of this country, that the most significant consequence of wave upon wave of immigrant settlement is that these centers have not "melted": the first generation quest for assimilation into American culture has been followed in most cases by successive generational drives for cultural distinctiveness and reinforcement. This is one of the major elements in Columbia's milieu. The upper West Side of Manhattan provides an educational experience unto itself for our students and has contributed to the heterogeneity of a student community comprising representatives from all fifty states and some seventy-five countries.

One of the unique strengths in the University's educational program lies in its variety of courses, programs, and institutions for the study of different cultures and nations. In the School of International Affairs, Columbia offers graduate degree study at eight regional or international institutes: Europeans, Russian, East Central Europe, East Asian, Middle East, African, Latin American and Southern Asian. (Half of Columbia's regional institutes are concerned specifically with the Third World.) In a very direct sense these programs have contributed to this nation's respect and tolerance for the social, economic, and cultural contributions made by Americans from other nations to our own culture and heritage. Training of young scholars in foreign studies, therefore, goes beyond the international boundaries of enhancing understanding and goodwill among nations: it has direct implications for deepening this country's appreciation of cultural contributions brought by all immigrants to its shores.

In addition to the international institutes and comparative national studies programs provided within the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences and Teachers College, the University has a Center for Israel and Jewish Studies as well as an extensive curriculum related to American urban and ethnic problems. An independent survey identifies some six hundred courses at Columbia relevant to the urban and ethnic fields in 1968-69. The University has expanded these offerings under considerable student interest during the current academic year, with such courses as Professor Charles V. Hamilton's Colloquium on Political Thought and Action of Black Americans, and Dr. Hugh Butt's course on Black Family Life in America. I believe that Columbia's total offerings represent a degree and scope of engagement in the urban and ethnic fields unequalled elsewhere. They reflect an interest which already has a substantial history at Columbia.

Cultural reinforcement is not, of course, as salient a purpose in baccalaureate education, or in the graduate and professional programs which predominate in Columbia's course offerings, as it may be in secondary education, which the proposed legislation is designed to improve. Knowledge and training that will contribute to the solution of the urban and racial crisis—perhaps the overriding domestic issue of our time—is a major and developing commitment at Columbia and in higher education generally.

Necessarily, the University's pursuit of this commitment must involve significantly increased educational opportunities for Afro-American and Hispanic peoples. Scholarship and fellowship needs for these students are enormous and constitute one of the central problems of a private university, faced with rising expenditures in both instructional and noninstructional budgets. We at Columbia have set priority on increasing financial assistance for minority students in undergraduate, and professional programs; but I believe that a private university cannot truly fulfill its educational responsibilities in this regard without significantly greater Federal Government assistance.

For the committee's information, I have enclosed herewith a report entitled "The Human Uses of the University". Commissioned by the Urban Center, a development agency of the University engaged in deepening its commitment in the urban and ethnic fields, the report explores various ways in which a major urban university might further strengthen related curricula and programs. It was prepared under the direction of Dr. Joseph Colmen, former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and currently a private consultant in Higher Educational Affairs. This report has a

thoroughness and scope not found, to my knowledge, in any comparable report on a university elsewhere in the country.

This report, with its recommendations, is intended as a catalyst for discussions—not only at Columbia but nationally—about improving the structure and substance of responses in higher education to the urban and racial crisis. The report is already under wide discussion in the Columbia community. Its recommendations have not been adopted in part or whole, but the report is proving a valuable aid to discussions about the various options, alternatives, costs, and benefits available to the University for strengthening its educational and community programs.

I think "The Human Uses of the University" should be read and therefore request that it be placed in the record of these hearings.

In closing, I once again offer my apologies for not being with you. I only hope this letter makes some contribution, small though it may be, to discussion of the role, diversity, and importance of ethnic and cultural study in our nation's educational programs.

Sincerely,

ANDREW W. CORDIER, *President.*

INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
New York, N.Y., February 16, 1970.

Representative ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PUCINSKI: Your letter of January 21 to Graham W. Irwin at Columbia University has been referred to me for reply, since I am at present the Director of the African Language and Area Center at Columbia.

The establishment of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers envisaged in your bill would, I think, fulfill a very real need in American education today. The African Language and Area Center which I direct here at Columbia has for the past number of years been offering a limited number of courses in African history which have attracted the interest of substantial numbers of Black American students. But because the Center is also concerned with problems of contemporary Africa, it is not possible to provide the full range courses dealing with the ethnic heritage which would be desirable. Although our Center has been active in cooperation with the Harlem-Morningside Committee in arranging for a series of public lectures each year on the African heritage of the American Black community, limitations of funds and personnel have again prevented us from engaging in the preparation of curriculum material on this general topic which might be used in the secondary and primary school level.

It seems to me particularly important that accurate and contemporary materials on the ethnic heritage of many groups of American students be prepared when at this time in our national history a fresh awareness of ethnic background is being forcibly brought to the public attention. The mixing of ethnic groups has historically been of vital importance in creating the American nation as it is today but an awareness of, and pride in, a particular ethnic background can only contribute in the long run to a fuller realization of the role our many ethnic groups have played in the development of modern American society.

I should be most interested in having reports of your proposed hearings on this topic and if I can be of any further assistance to you, I should be happy to do so.

Sincerely,

L. GRAY COWAN, *Director.*

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Minneapolis, Minn., March 3, 1970.

Representative ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE PUCINSKI: The Minneapolis Public Schools express great interest and support for H.R. 14910, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Center Bill.

Since receiving your letter dated January 19, I have taken the liberty to share your letter and the proposed bill with several colleagues. They are of the

firm opinion that the bill, if enacted and funded fully, would provide many opportunities for the exchange of students, faculty and community persons; and, hence, provide opportunities for the better understanding and respect for cultural differences and similarities.

Please convey to other members of the General Subcommittee on Education our indication of support for this measure, and we would stand ready to assist in implementation of such Ethnic Heritage Study Centers as federal funding becomes available.

Very sincerely,

JOHN B. DAVIS, Jr., *Superintendent.*

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
New York, N.Y., February 13, 1970.

HON. ROMAN PUCINSKI,
Education Committee,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE PUCINSKI: Thank you for your inquiry concerning the proposed Ethnic Heritages Bill. It deals with a most fundamental problem facing our educational system. We live in a pluralistic world, both ethnically and culturally, both nationally and internationally. This means that the diverse cultural traditions represented within the American citizenry, as well as those foreign countries from which they derive, must be adequately represented in our educational system. Briefly there are three reasons for this:

1. We cannot learn to respect our fellow citizens of the United States without an understanding of the social and cultural traditions from which they have emerged.

2. Our citizens of diverse ethnic backgrounds will not acquire even a basic self-respect if they find that our educational system looks upon their heritages as unworthy of consideration. They will think of themselves as misfits, strangers equally to their original homeland and to an adopted country that tolerates but does not truly appreciate them. In these circumstances young people from minority groups suffer identity crises arising from an inability to relate inherited values successfully to contemporary American life. Beset by inner conflicts and social tensions, they may be easily attracted to revolutionary movements that promise to reduce everyone to a common social and cultural denominator.

3. Our relationship to our ethnic minorities is intimately bound up with our international relations. Ethnic diversity can be a great resource to draw upon in our dealings with our citizens' countries of origin. On the other hand it can also become a great liability if ethnic minorities come to feel themselves second class citizens culturally, and their countries of origin take this as a reflection upon themselves. In the end we cannot deal with either problem, national or international, without each involving the other.

In view of these considerations it seems to me imperative that the Ethnic Heritages Bill be viewed in relation to the existing National Defense Education Act (NDEA) program. Some people may consider that the NDEA language program has accomplished its original purpose and should be closed out at an early date. I think this reflects a narrow and mistaken conception of what the NDEA program was all about. Viewed simply as a language training program one could say it has made appreciable gains in training persons in the so-called neglected languages. But many scholars and educators recognized quite early that the study of these neglected languages was intimately bound up with their equally neglected cultures. And the study of these cultures, which has since emerged in the NDEA program of Language and Area Centers, has only just begun. The further development of such cultural studies and the retention in some form (perhaps modified) of the language and area studies would be extremely important to the proper study of ethnic heritages. It dismantle these centers now (or in the near future), just at a time when their resources should be drawn upon for the study of ethnic heritages, would be a serious mistake from the scholarly standpoint and a substantial loss from the financial point of view. If the language and area centers program is allowed to die, the same groundwork will have to be laid all over again in connection with the study of ethnic heritages.

A failure to establish the study of ethnic heritages on this sound basis could have serious consequences. If a scholarly approach is not established at the start of an ethnic heritages program, there is strong likelihood of ethnic nationalism

coming to dominate it. Divisive political and racial forces will take over. Instead of achieving a unity in the midst of cultural diversity, we will get, at best, only ethnic chop suey, and at worst, a festering jungle of racial nationalisms.

I am enclosing copies of several of my writings which relate to this problem. "Education for a World Community" discusses the place of other cultural traditions in our concept of liberal education. "The Relevance of Asia" discusses the contribution other cultural heritages can make to the solution of our own educational dilemmas. "The Strange Affair of Asia and America" deals with American college students' search for identity and how it can only be resolved in the context of a multi-cultural world. I believe you would find that each of them bears upon basic issues which any program for the study of ethnic heritages would have to face.

Sincerely yours,

WM. THEODORE DE BARY,
Professor of Oriental Studies.

DE PAUL UNIVERSITY,
Chicago, Ill., March 30, 1970.

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE PUCINSKI: Thank you for sending me a copy of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill. America stands out from all other nations, I believe, in its cultural pluralism. Americans are, or should be, proud of two cultures—that of the homeland of their ancestors and that of their adopted nation. Too often, though, this pride is turned to apathy or shame through ignorance or misinformation about one's ethnic heritage. There is not a single ethnic group I know of that need be anything but proud of its homeland heritage, if it only knew about it.

America's two-world cultural pluralism is so misunderstood today that many of our youth are turning to "Third World" cultures that are not only alien but irrelevant to the socio-political values of modern industrial society. Ethnic Americans—and let us remember that, except for a few million aboriginal Indians, we are all ethnics—tend to disregard and discount their national origins because present day political regimes in their homeland are alien to our own New World socio-political values. In fact, these regimes are also alien to Old World cultural values. Thus, our cultural frontier would be immensely supported by the commonality of Old World/New World values in the confrontation with nihilistic "Third World" values that bewilder and alienate so many of our youth today.

American society is perhaps the most perfect application of Old World values. Our culture, way of life, standard of living, and technology are the envy of all other continents. Even our campus revolts have been emulated by students in other countries, although the revolutionary goals are almost opposite in nature. While so many of our youth embrace "Third World" or "Other World" anti-social philosophies, the youth of other continents are rebelling against government authority to receive the kind of freedom and training provided by our own schools and other institutions.

If nothing else, a better understanding of how America transformed into reality the Old World utopian ideals, how this success is emulated and envied by all other countries, would make us a little prouder and less defensive about the American way of life.

The passage of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill would give new meaning to the word "ethnic". The term now too often has a derogatory connotation of people who are defensive about their subtly inferior ethnic heritage and are unable to reconcile themselves to the values of either the dominant "WASP" majority or the newly militant black minority. A proper sense of the multi-cultural heritage of all Americans would make proud "ethnics" of us all, and should serve to deflate the exaggerated rhetoric of confrontation implicit in the slogans of racial and ethnic "power" now in vogue.

Sincerely,

PIERRE DE VISE,
Assistant Director.

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA, INC.,

New York, N.Y., February 28, 1970.

Hon. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,

Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education, Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I was most gratified to receive your letter of February 5, 1970 with reference to H.R. 14910, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill. At the very outset, I congratulate you on this far-seeing measure and take pleasure in informing you that this committee, in its recent executive meeting, unanimously endorsed the objectives of the bill.

You can count on our full support of this necessary legislation. The stated objectives cannot but contribute heavily to the prime interests of our Nation and its unique significance in the history of mankind. I should like the opportunity of examining the full text of the bill and, by grace of your invitation, to testify in support of it.

With warmest personal regards and wishes for full success in this vital matter.

Sincerely,

LEV E. DOBRIANSKY, President.

ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA.

STATEMENT OF DR. LEV E. DOBRIANSKY, PRESIDENT, UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA, PROFESSOR OF GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Mr. Chairman, in response to your written invitation of March 4, 1970, I am privileged to express the full support of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in favor of the passage of H.R. 14910, which provides a program to improve the opportunity of students in elementary and secondary schools to study cultural heritages of the major ethnic groups in the Nation. Representing the thoughts and sentiments of over 2½ million Americans of Ukrainian ancestry, this national committee is authoritatively speaking for a major ethnic group in our Nation, which in numerous spheres of cultural and educational activity has made and continues to make its constructive imprints on our evolving democratic society.

In this concise statement I just want to stress and underscore four essential points concerning H.R. 14910 and its provision for the establishment of ethnic heritage studies centers. These are: (1) the instrumental significance of the bill and its contents for the nature and directions of our Nation; (2) the wisdom of concentrating on improvements in the elementary and secondary schools in our country; (3) the example of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) as an organizational agency for the implementation of the programs envisioned in the measure; and (4) the factor of special knowledge as a determining asset insuring the fulfillment and success of the contemplated programs.

OUR UNIQUE NATION

The goals and objectives of this advanced legislation are thoroughly consistent with the historical basis and the significant nature of our national entity. Indeed, the provisions of the bill and their methodical realization would serve to constitute a formidable instrument designed to intensify the qualitative growth and cultural richness of our nation-state. As the measure's statement of policy emphasizes, a greater understanding of one's heritage and those of others cannot but contribute to our national cohesion and more harmonious and prosperous overall development. But what is oftentimes overlooked is the more fundamental uniqueness of our Nation in the history of the world and the basic need for preserving and cultivating this unprecedented character, which by intent, content, and portent this legislation would reinforce immeasurably.

Without striking any super-patriotic or romantic notes, it becomes philosophically evident on the basis of both historical and political evidence that no nation in the history of mankind has possessed or possesses the nature and character of our Nation. Historically, from the very start, drawn into the very body and soul of America have been people from every corner of the globe, from every race, and from all major religions. Human diversity in development unity has been and is the unique characteristic of America; multi-ethnicity at work in national

union has been and is the ever-expanding reservoir of resourcefulness, innovation and challenge in this grand historical experiment called the United States of America. To parallel, as some do, the USSR with the US in this report is to profess ignorance on more than one count.

The ramifications of thought flowing from this fundamental truth are numerous and engaging. This is scarcely the place to pursue and elaborate on them. The important point here is that the essence of the bill really goes beyond the passive attainment of understanding ourselves and each other to tap and regenerate the very springs of our national origin, growth and destiny. Clearly, in our world context today, it is not a species of putative reasoning to maintain that by its unique nature and all that this implies in terms of human progress and civilization, the presence and consummate power of America are integral parts of a providential design for the future of mankind. Whether by reason and will we shall accomplish the demands of this design is the titanic test and challenge we face. The directions paved by this measure undoubtedly will enable us to meet this challenge more adequately and more successfully.

THE PRIMACY OF EARLY EDUCATION

It is unnecessary to dwell on any psychology or philosophy of education in order to emphasize the primacy and crucial importance of one's early education in the formative years. The bill rightly and wisely concentrates on improving and assisting elementary and secondary education as concern the multiple heritages in our progressive society. Mistaken and erroneous preconceptions woven into young minds during these early years frequently remain with students on higher levels of education in later years. Of course, not only do they serve to perpetuate myths and early contrived misconceptions but also the millions who form our citizenry and conclude their formal education with high school.

Ironically enough, perhaps no subject has been mangled and distorted by perpetuated myths and misconceptions than that of the Soviet Union, its multinational composition and so forth. Children taught that this state is "Russia," continue to harbor this myth and all that flows from it for the rest of their lives. Even college students today evince an ignorance as to nations such as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, despite their independent existence between the two world wars.

The consequences of a general situation such as this need hardly be defined here. Suffice it to say that with the USSR being for years a chief threat to the security of our national being, a modicum of common sense would demand that our citizenry become expeditiously enlightened about the different nations and peoples in that state. Plainly, one effective way of overcoming this undoubted general deficiency in our Nation is provided by this bill. Large communities in our country consist of Americans whose heritage extends to one or another area of the USSR. With ethnic heritage studies centers dealing with Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Armenia and others, there can be no question that this grave deficiency would be rapidly eliminated, with all the positive benefits that this would entail.

AN EXAMPLE OF CONSTRUCTIVE IMPLEMENTATION

When it comes to the matter of an efficient and constructive implementation of the envisioned programs, it is utterly necessary to establish safeguards against uneconomical arrangements, waste of resources in being, and fly-by-night operators, such as have characterized other programs in the recent past. My chief point here is that to a large extent the anatomy for efficient and sound programming already exists in the case of several major ethnic groups. What is desperately required is a substantial improvement and beefing-up of the structures already in existence, such as the bill implicitly contemplates. This course of action would insure an economical use of resources, certainly as to productive results, and the necessary avoidance of waste.

To cite an example for efficient implementation, the structure of the Ukrainian heritage groups in this country lends itself to a rational allocation of resources. One of the few of its kind, the UCCA is a unified, national organization to which, across the country, organizations, clubs, religious, cultural and academic groups belong in integrated membership, except for minor communist elements. The UCCA is an educational organization of organizations; it is tax-exempt; it supports schools and studies of the Ukrainian language, history, arts and culture

in general. The impact of its cumulative work has been felt in Congressional investigations into communism, the Congressional Captive Nations Week Resolution, the erection of the Taras Shevchenko monument in our nation's capital, and in scores of other respects. In short, by structure and operation it could easily form regional and local Ukrainian heritage studies centers, serving and assisting our elementary and secondary schools.

THE ASSET OF SPECIAL KNOWLEDGE

Finally, a few words concerning the determining asset of special knowledge. Employing the example given above, the UCCA, through two of its organizational members, maintains a list of Ukrainian heritage academicians at universities and colleges across the country. For maximum effectiveness of the program in this major ethnic area, sources of special knowledge are a *sine qua non*. Moreover, resident in all of our major cities are similar sources of special Ukrainian knowledge which would be necessary to tap and for which the UCCA has records in beings. Briefly, then, such special knowledge, utilized and dispensed within the framework of our American ideals and traditions, is both a fundamental asset and capital for insuring the success of these programs.

We look forward to participating heavily in the program for Ukrainian heritage studies, which for decades now this committee has sought to advance, albeit with relatively meager resources. You and your colleagues draw our highest admiration and esteem for the far-seeing features of H.R. 14910. And I thank you most gratefully for the opportunity of submitting this statement on a most vital endeavor.

UKRAINIAN INSTITUTE OF AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N.Y., April 6, 1970.

Hon. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education, U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Thank you very much for your kind letter of March 26, 1970. We are very happy to have the opportunity to express the following opinion which we hope you will consider in your efforts on behalf of H.R. 14910.

We support the Bill H.R. 14910 introduced in Congress by you and 16 other Congressmen from the states of California, Hawaii, Illinois, Maine, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New York and Pennsylvania. This is the Bill that patriotic Americans of ethnic origin are waiting for. We welcome with great pleasure the introducing of this Bill and beg for its enactment by the U.S. Congress.

Establishing Centers for Ethnic Studies will enable private non-profit educational institutions to provide activities related to a single culture or regional group of cultures and develop greater understanding for a more harmonious, patriotic and committed population. That is very important in our multi-ethnic society to bring about better understanding among all our citizens.

Establishing Centers of Ethnic Heritage Studies will provide a noble opportunity on the part of ethnic groups to provide trainings for educational personnel and develop curriculum material for schools and for adult education.

We believe that such activities of the Ethnic Heritage Study Centers will bring satisfaction, understanding and great enjoyment to all American citizens.

Enactment of this Bill will serve as a great historical example for other nations to follow.

We earnestly support you and hope for an early enactment of H.R. 14910.

Sincerely,

THEODOR DZUS, *President.*

JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE,
San Francisco, Calif., February 23, 1970.

Congressman CARL D. PERKINS,
Chairman, Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PERKINS: I would like to express my wholehearted support of H.R. 14910, which was introduced in the House on November 20, 1969, and is now before your Committee for consideration.

The Japanese American Citizens League is the only national organization of Americans of Japanese ancestry in the United States. Among our interests

is a deep concern that our educational system include appropriate opportunities for all children to learn of their own ethnic identities and culture, and to better understand those of their fellow minority Americans.

This concern is based upon the belief that such educational opportunities will go a long way toward greater ethnic understanding, and the lessening of racial tensions, as well as a fuller culturally enriched generation.

The Japanese American Citizens League, and its 92 chapters throughout the country, has tried to support, wherever local interests have developed, courses and community efforts aimed at ethnic studies emphasis on all levels, elementary, secondary and college. We have been concerned about the importance of in-depth approach to this, instead of superficial, hastily set up courses. We see this bill providing another resource to assure a quality effort in this area.

I hope that these brief expressions of support will contribute to a favorable reporting of this bill, which we consider most timely and vital.

Sincerely yours,

JERRY J. ENOMOTO,
National President.

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS,
San Francisco, February 18, 1970.

Hon. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Member, U.S. Congress,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PUCINSKI: I note with interest that you are the author of H.R. 14910, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act. The Bill describes precisely the purposes and activities of the Multi-Culture Institute which is now operating a small program, with Ford Foundation funds, intended as a model for public schools.

The Institute's school treats children both as members of their own ethnic groups and as members of the larger society, and helps them function constructively and profitably in both.

The children are given general academic instruction in integrated classes during the morning hours. During the afternoon, they are given in-depth instruction in their own heritages in separate classes. Each ethnic group develops ways of sharing the beauties and contributions of its culture with the other groups.

As you will see from the attached materials, some of your colleagues in the House of Representatives have been closely involved in the work of the Institute. Gus Hawkins visited with us several weeks ago.

I understand that your committee is coming to California in March. I would like to request that Miss Frances Sussna, director of the Multi-Culture Institute, be permitted to appear as a witness before the committee to tell you of our experience. I would, of course, be especially pleased if the committee could visit the Multi-Culture classes in session.

I would not presume to send you such a large volume of material except that it relates so directly to your bill.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

TERRY A. FRANCOIS.

[From the San Francisco Examiner, Apr. 9, 1969]

ETHNIC STUDIES GRANT

Some 100 nursery and elementary school children soon will be able to explore their racial and ethnic identities, thanks to a \$200,000 Ford Foundation grant to the Multi-Culture Institute.

Frances Sussna, founder of the institute, announced receipt of the grant yesterday at a news conference with Mayor Alioto and Supervisor Terry A. Francois, institute president.

The grant will enable Miss Sussna to open a private school later this month for Negro, Jewish, Latin American and Chinese children at Homewood Terrace, formerly an orphanage with nine buildings on 10 acres of land.

REDEFINITION

Miss Sussna's program attempts to create a redefinition of the concept of integration by bringing students together not only as humans of equal worth but also as members of diverse subcultures.

Francois said he is convinced that minority group youngsters have a difficult time in school because of their "inability to adjust to a society where race is such a significant factor."

Alloto said, "The public school is very interested in this program and will be watching it closely . . . This experimental program can lead to adoption in the public schools."

ETHNIC HISTORY

The program calls for approximately 100 youngsters in the age four-five group to attend general studies classes together for part of each day.

For the rest of the day, the students meet in classes with other members of their group to learn about the history and culture of the group.

Once a week, all the students meet together so that the children of one ethnic group can teach the others about their own unique heritage.

The novel approach to integration is an extension of the basic concept involved in the successful Brandeis Day School, which the widely traveled Miss Sussna founded when she arrived here in 1960.

Miss Sussna is accepting applications for the new school from children four to six years of age. Younger and older children will also be accepted if enough apply.

"No one will be eliminated because he can't afford it," Miss Sussna said. She said she will strive for a "mixed economic level."

[From the San Francisco Examiner, Apr. 8, 1969]

NEW APPROACH TO INTEGRATION PAYS OFF FOR SCHOOL

Three years ago, a striking blue-eyed blonde educator founded San Francisco's Multi-Culture Institute, to pursue a new approach to integration.

The goal of Frances Sussna: Strive to preserve the ethnic identity of black, Jewish, Chinese, Japanese and Mexican-American children by treating them both as members of their specific ethnic groups and as members of the larger society.

Today, in an Ingleside District residence which Miss Sussna converted to offices, at 226 Miramar Ave., there was understandable cause for jubilation.

The Ford Foundation had announced a \$200,000 grant to the private, non-profit educational organization which Miss Sussna founded and now directs.

LARGEST GRANT

The grant was the largest in a series of actions announced by the foundation, aimed "at exploring how schools can better prepare youth to function in a democratic society beset by unprecedented demands and complexity."

The grant makes possible a continuation of the program which had its basic concept in the successful Brandeis Day School, which the widely traveled Miss Sussna founded when she arrived here in 1960.

Among its other aspects, this private school gave Jewish children an understanding of the meaning of their background, to encourage pride in it.

"Why not do this for everybody?" pondered Miss Sussna, and the Multi-Culture Project was born. It opened with a five-group approach with Chinese, Japanese, Jewish, Black and Spanish-speaking youngsters—which has continued.

The program has attempted successfully to create a redefinition of the concept of integration by bringing students together not only as human beings of equal worth but also as members of diverse subcultures.

100 YOUNGSTERS

The program includes approximately 100 youngsters in the age four-five group, attending general studies classes together for part of each day.

For the rest of the day, the students meet in classes with other members of their ethnic group to learn about the history and culture of the group.

Once a week, all the students meet together so the children of one ethnic group can teach the others about their own unique heritage.

A national advisory board of education scholars later will try to find ways in which the institute's materials and techniques can be incorporated into other institutions, including the public schools.

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL & MUSEUM COMMISSION,
Harrisburg, Pa., February 13, 1970.

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education, U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PUCINSKI: Dr. Glassie left the Commission last spring to go into University teaching, and I replaced him at the end of May as State Folklorist and Director of Ethnic Culture Survey. I sent your letter to Henry, but I have taken the liberty of retaining a copy and sending you these comments. I hope that this will not be taken amiss, but the bill is so interesting that I simply could not pass up the opportunity.

First of all I think that the plan and its stated goals are excellent and show a sensitivity to the importance of culture and cultural diversity which all too often seems lacking in government. Always important these matters take on special importance during a time of social unrest like the present.

I would hope that in the development of the centers referred to in the bill existing facilities for cultural study will be taken into consideration. Folklorists, anthropologists and sociologists have all made great strides in this country in recent decades, and it would be a pity if this program did not take full advantage of this fact. Offices like my own, graduate programs in folklore and folklife such as are to be found at the University of Pennsylvania, Indiana University, Texas and U.C.L.A., and undergraduate programs such as the one starting at Harvard, could be useful to the work of such centers and might well be kept in mind when planning the geographic distribution of the centers.

One major concern that immediately comes to mind whenever I hear of undertakings aimed at illuminating contributions of ethnic groups, is the matter of level and depth. So often, far too often from my point of view, such work tends to concentrate on the political, economic, scientific and artistic contributions of outstanding individuals who happen to be members of ethnic groups. Certainly such contributions are important and are a part of the story of these groups, but such matters generally reflect very little of the group traditions which are of greatest interest to the student of culture. As a folklorist I feel that of greater importance to the promotion of ingroup pride and identity and outgroup appreciation and tolerance are the lives and traditions of *typical* people. The folktales, songs, speech patterns and recipes of housewives, farmers, craftsmen, laborers and factory workers. I certainly feel that George Washington Carver was very important both to the Negro 'community' and to the United States, and in fact the world as a whole. But his achievements in terms of the uses of the peanut and sweet potato were personal. They were far more the contributions of George Carver than of 'the American Negro'. For understanding Negro culture and its contributions to the development of the United States a much more useful sort of study would deal with the evolution of the traditional rural blues, Negro gospel music and jazz, and their impact on the American musical idiom; also 'soul food', speech and urban legends, to name but a few of the very fruitful areas of study. The same comments can be made for every single ethnic group.

Furthermore, these materials are far more useful if they are used to uncover and illustrate the mechanisms of cultural differences and acculturation, the psychological and social functions of cultural elements, and the difficulties which occur when a group with its own specific culture is thrown into constant contact with a different group or groups, than if they are simply put on display without analysis and meaningful comment. The great message for today that comes out of the study of cultural difference is that there are *many* perfectly appropriate and satisfying ways of coping with each situation presented by life, *not just one*. In a very real sense such studies can teach us to speak of the *American ways*, rather than the *American way*. Or, perhaps even more importantly in a world growing smaller day by day, the *human ways*.

A great deal of very important work on such analysis and comparison has been done and is being done today by members of the disciplines which I mentioned above. Perhaps I should stress that point in connection with my own discipline, folklore. Apparently most people today think of folklorists as dabblers of some sort who are concerned with the "quaint" and archaic, with little or no interest in things of real importance. Nothing could be farther from the truth although there are many things in the history of the discipline which help to account for this attitude, and the current 'folk music revival' so called has been a considerable factor. It is true that folklorists are often primarily concerned with

things that are common, often old fashioned, rather than the grand, really unusual, things which are generally considered to carry great weight in the world. But I would suggest that the study and analysis of regional variations in architecture, traditional preferences in food and art forms, patterns of belief and speech, can tell us far more about what man is really like than the affairs of kings, presidents, generals and bishops which regularly make the history books. Of course the same is true of the work of anthropologists, psychologists and so forth, but I stress folklore here because it is generally not seen in this light, while it has done and is doing much or more in the matter of ethnic groups than any other.

One other matter that catches my eye at the moment is that of 'major' or "readily identifiable ethnic groups." I feel rather strongly that because of the strong tendency toward acculturation in this country no ethnic group can be fully understood without reference to those other groups with which it is in constant contact. Therefore, if one were to disregard, as is often done, such an obvious group as the English, the things which have happened to Slavic, Mediterranean, and so forth culture groups in this country would be unintelligible. The concentration on ethnic groups is a very good idea and needs to be done because of their neglect in the past. At the same time it is essential to bear in mind the fact that no segment of our population is truly isolated, and that all parts must be taken into account before we can approach an understanding of the whole. This includes not only ethnic groups but also that great conglomerate known as American popular culture. It is important to bring the contributions of ethnic groups into their proper place in study, but if the effort makes us myopic we will not be able to understand them.

Thank you for your time and I hope that some of my comments may prove useful to you in your very important undertaking. I am sorry if I seemed a bit too much of a missionary in speaking about folklore but that seems to happen to folklorists when they get an audience.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID J. HUFFORD,
State Folklorist, Ethnic Culture Survey.

GERMAN-AMERICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, INC.,
Chicago, Ill., February 12, 1970.

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
*Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: In regard to your letter of January 27, 1970 and your bill H.R. 14910 concerning the preservation of ethnic history and culture, the German-American National Congress is glad to assure you of its support.

On my next visit to Washington, D.C. I will take the opportunity to call at your office in this matter.

Furthermore our office in Scranton, Heritage Group Council for Citizenship Education, a unit of D.A.N.K., 210 Scranton Life Building, Scranton, Pa., is able to act on behalf of the German-American National Congress on this bill.

Sincerely yours,

WALTHER A. KOLLACKS,
National President.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD KOLM, PH. D. OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA—
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE

THE MEANING OF ETHNICITY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The part ethnic groups have played in the history of the United States is well known and recognized. In fact, as one historian stated, the history of the United States can be viewed as a history of its ethnic groups. Yet, when it comes to the assessment of the place of ethnic groups in the relational fabric of the American society, it is a different story. While their general contributions to the development of the new country are not denied, accusations abound of exclusiveness and of tendencies to isolate themselves in their own communities and neighborhoods, of rigidity in their social patterns, of carrying over old world patterns of

intergroup antagonisms, thus they are believed to generate suspicion and distrust, to harbor prejudices and tendencies for scapegoating and stereotyping, and generally are believed to be an obstacle to communication, cooperation, and harmonious relations in society.

These accusations are directed not so much against the individual members of the ethnic groups, descendants of immigrants or even themselves immigrants—as against the groups as such. American society accepted immigrants but never approved of the ethnic groups.

There have been many attempts at formulating theories or rather ideologies of desirable ways of incorporating immigrants into the American society and of achieving unity and harmony. Essentially all these ideas or ideologies can be divided into two categories. The first one is the concept of absorption of immigrants involving abandonment of their cultural heritage and ways of life, and conformity as soon as possible to dominant, mainly Anglo Saxon patterns. A variety of theories from the oldest one of assimilation through the concepts of melting pot, Americanization, triple melting pot, to the most recent one of the imminent disappearance of all ethnic groups from the American scene can be put under this general category of the ideology of absorption. The other category, an opposite of the first one, is that of cultural pluralism, which promoted the idea of cultural diversities, believed to be the expression of the constitutional democratic ideas as applicable both to individuals and to groups. Under this category of cultural pluralism fell concepts such as "cultural democracy" and "integration" emphasizing cultural differentiation within the framework of social unity.

There is no doubt that both the above processes, assimilation and pluralism, existed and operated side by side and still do so. On the whole the assimilationist ideologies were dominant in American society as they usually are in countries receiving immigrants. The pressure towards absorption was at a time very strong, as during the Americanization program before World War II, but it never exceeded the constitutional limits. As one writer puts it, "the American ethos forced society to tolerate religious and ethnic differences, even if it did not particularly like it." (Greeley).

Despite, however, the pressures, and despite the lack of acceptance and support from the society, the ethnic groups have shown an unusual resilience and capacity for survival, and for preservation of their identity. The recent racial problems and some inter-group conflicts, resulting from them have suddenly made the American society aware of the continuing existence of its ethnic groups, and of the fallacy of the accepted myth of the homogeneous American society. The final blow to the assimilationist ideology has been delivered by the Black American. He could not disappear, and therefore did not fit into the concept of American adjustment; and consequently had to be put outside the Constitution.

The problem of the Blacks and the subsequent chain reaction of conflicts involving other ethnic groups shattered another popular American myth, that of direct individual identification with the country, without the mediation of smaller units. As the report by the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence issued in June, 1969 states:

The myth of the melting pot has obscured the great degree to which Americans have historically identified with their national citizenship through their myriad subnational affiliations. This has meant inevitable group competition friction, and conflict.

The report gives as the reason for this mythology, "a kind of historical amnesia," which probably could be interpreted simply as wishful thinking, and goes on to say:

As probably the most ethnically and culturally pluralistic nation in the world, the United States has functioned less as a nation of individuals than of groups.

Whether a "nation of individuals" is at all possible remains an open question. There is no historical evidence of a larger society not being based on smaller ethnic units mostly of some distant tribal origin. Through regrouping, fusing and blending of smaller groups, most of these units lost their biological base a long time ago; instead they evolved cultural bonds based on motivational consensus, on strong solidarity among its members and their loyalty to the group, on commonalities of beliefs, expressive forms, and of moral percepts—all of which being transmitted from one generation to another through fire-tested methods of socialization of the young.

These are the elements constituting what is called the "cultural roots" of a society or a social group or its "ethnicity". With regard to individuals or groups "ethnicity", refers, then, to their awareness and appreciation of their cultural origins, to their identification with characteristic expressive forms and with distinct cultural content.

But first of all ethnicity signifies the unconscious, irrational elements of motivational involvement and commitment of individuals to their groups. It is the strength of this commitment that explains the survival of the presently existing old cultures of the world and that gives witness to their vitality in their historical struggle for existence and for identity.

It is also this aspect that explains the survival and "obstinate" tenacity of ethnic groups in the United States, still deriving their strength from their original cultures. And it is probably this tenacity of the immigrants in maintaining their ethnicity—from the oldest, Anglo-Saxon, to the successive later arrivals—that made the development and greatness of the United States possible. While the deeply instilled moral commitment of these immigrants to society could be taken for granted, the young society could devote its energies toward other goals.

And the ethnic groups, as they continue to cultivate their patterns of group life, are still the cultural taproots of the United States society. Two or even three hundred years of existence is hardly enough for a society to develop its own strong motivational patterns of solidarity and loyalty, of involvement and commitment to society, to a degree necessary not only for times of success and of dynamic growth and expansion, but also for times of difficulties and of crisis; and the development of such new patterns is even more problematic for a heterogeneous society composed of elements from old established cultures.

The immense American achievements in science, technology, and economics have given the American people an affluence unparalleled in the history of mankind, and are an inspiration to the peoples of the world. They are, however, achievements based on moral commitments deeply rooted in the old cultures of the immigrants who brought them ready for use, and who also secured their continuations as they passed them on to their children.

But to re-enact continuously this meaning of their cultural heritage in their personal life, and especially in the socialization of their children, the immigrants and later their descendants, needed their ethnic groups—for mutual support and for consensual validation of patterns. It was in this crucial matter that the relationship of society to its ethnic groups failed. Some already existing prejudices of the young society, religious, social and political, reinforced by the anxieties and fears for its unity in times of the mass arrivals of new immigrants, gave rise to the myth of homogeneity, to theories of absorption, of individual citizenship, and to the rejection of ethnic groups. Thus, the old "fear of diversity" known to the immigrants from their old countries was revived in a different form perhaps, but with similar effects for them.

Perhaps the emphasis on the individual and the rejection of the ethnic group was necessary and desirable for the beginnings. It freed the individual from too tight group bonds and released incalculable amounts of human energy, providing the new country with an explosive dynamism commensurate to the challenges of its resources and opportunities.

But there were also important negative effects both for the ethnic groups and for the society. As with rejection of individuals in groups, the rejection of groups in society must lead to negative developments. For the ethnic groups, the direct consequences were lowered group self-concept and subsequent attrition of membership, defensive withdrawal and the stagnation of social and cultural life. These were, of course, also losses to the society, but more direct were the consequences to the relational climate of the society. Lack of acceptance and the rejection of ethnic groups inevitably brought about general distrust and suspicion in relations of the society with its ethnic groups and of the groups with each other. Defensive reactions, stereotyping, scapegoating, prejudice and intergroup conflicts were only the logical consequences of such relations.

The general atmosphere of rejection and of disapproval of ethnic groups can probably also be related to some other contemporary social problems of American society. The intensity of the present racial conflict is probably best explained in terms of this general atmosphere; similarly problems of juvenile delinquency and of youth alienation can be attributed to it. The general weakening of the ethnic socializing functions caused by the negative attitudes of society towards ethnic groups, led to general weakening of the motivational commitment to society and to estrangement from society.

Blaming cultural diversity and ethnicity even partly for these negative developments is to confuse symptoms with causes. Though coping with diverse ethnic cultures requires greater efforts, diversity has also its appropriate rewards to society. Similarly ethnicity, in addition to the previously mentioned values, can be a catalyst of grassroot cultural interest and involvement, and an effective antidote to the mass-culture of our times, with its all-levelling mass media, shallowing human interaction and its dehumanizing effects of material progress.

Furthermore, ethnicity may foster development of multiple-cultured personalities in society with capacities for increased self-awareness and for high-level functioning in the complex modern world. The cross-cultural ties of the ethnic groups can also be viewed as a challenge and an opportunity for cultural contacts and for intensified interaction of the society with other nations. Finally, the pluralistic composition of American society can be viewed as an opportunity for developing intellectual, emotional and moral qualities necessary for its leadership role in the world, for effective coping with the dividing forces of the world, and for constructive use of diversity toward unity.

Above all, however, ethnicity provides many Americans with a more adequate answer to their question of self-identity and provides them with greater satisfactions of communal living, and of meaningful interpersonal relationships, which in itself makes a contribution to society.

The dissolution of ethnic groups would probably be a loss to society in many ways—in articulated identity, in social and cultural involvement, in organized life style, in colorful folkways and in other areas. With all these positives, it would seem that the American society would be happy to have ethnic groups, to recognize them and perhaps even to appreciate them. But old fears and nativism sanctioned by traditions die hard—as do all such sentiments. While other countries give great attention to their ethnic elements, trying to save as much as possible, before technological progress flattens everything into a gray sameness, and while some other immigrant-receiving countries already enjoy their only recently received immigrants—the American society has not yet recognized its ethnic groups—with one exception perhaps, but it took 100 years to recognize the Irish.

There are, of course, some noticeable changes, some mellowing perhaps—except for the racial groups. Two world wars have convinced the society of the loyalty of its ethnic sons and this should be a sufficient cause for a change of heart. But the shallowness of this change was clearly shown by the reaction of the American society to the recent “discovery” of the White Ethnic America. Apparently the more plausible reason for the mellowing of attitudes toward ethnic groups was the news of the imminent disappearance of ethnic groups dutifully proclaimed and documented by researchers.

There is no doubt that the possibilities of negative developments related to ethnicity and cultural diversity are always present. Ethnocentrism, rigidity of traditional forms and intergroup animosities can always become problems to society, and if not checked in time, may get out of hand. But as recent events around the world have shown conflicts arise also in most homogeneous societies and ethnic divisions are not the most frequent causes of conflicts, even where these divisions exist.

These negative tendencies in no way invalidate the positive values of ethnicity and of cultural diversity. Coping with these negative potentials is mainly a matter of prevention through alertness, flexibility and the use of skills in human relations, all of which should not be lacking in the American society.

What is needed, at this point, is meaningful acceptance of its ethnic groups by the American society, involving genuine appreciation, active interest and support. The “fear of diversity” can be converted into acceptance and enjoyment of diversity as an important aspect of human life. On the other hand, ethnic groups on their part, must recognize that all particularistic solidarities and cultural distinctions must be congruous, harmonious and converging with the solidarities, ideals and values in and of the American society.

In view of the above framework “The Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act of 1969 (H.R. 14910) is an important and most appropriate, and desirable step in the direction of expressing formal acceptance and support of its ethnic groups by American society. The provision of opportunities” to all students of elementary and secondary schools of the Nation to learn about the differing and unique contributions to the national heritage made by each ethnic group” and about “the nature of their own cultural heritage and those in which they have an interest” will provide recognition and status to ethnic groups in the society and

consequently will help them to enrich their cultural identity and their self-concept.

As a result, the ethnic groups will gain the psychological security needed for their positive relationship with other groups and with society, which in turn will diminish if not eliminate the main causes for defensiveness, exclusiveness and intergroup conflicts; the increased security should also help the ethnic groups in their general participation and involvement in their communities and social affairs, and should enable them to make greater contributions to these communities and to society.

By promoting general interest in ethnic cultures the act will give evidence that American society has overcome its "fear of diversity" and may lead to "enjoyment of diversity", thus increasing mutual acceptance and improving the relational climate in society. The interest and grass-root involvement in cultural affairs may also be a positive factor in combatting social ills such as alienation and delinquency.

Finally by including all ethnic groups on an equal basis, the act may become instrumental in equalizing involvement and interaction of all ethnic groups, including those who at present still struggle for equality and recognition, and in this way the act may contribute significantly to the stabilization of human relations in American society.

THE QUEST FOR CULTURAL IDENTITY

A PRESENTATION PREPARED FOR THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS, MICHIGAN DIVISION
CONFERENCE IN DETROIT, MICHIGAN, ON MARCH 21, 1970

(By Richard Kolm)

Polish-American identity can best be understood in relationship to the other cultural groups in the United States, such as the Italian-American, German-American, or Irish-American, and so on, or in relationship to the general American culture. For the sake of simplification, the term will be used here in the collective sense, which means basically as applying to Polish-Americans as a group, though obviously having all the implications for the individuals also. Furthermore, when a generalized reference is made to all cultural (as they are also called) nationality groups in the United States, the term 'ethnic identity' will be used rather than 'cultural identity'. The term 'ethnic identity' as applied to any group, implies, of course, a certain cultural distinctness, well defined and recognized, such as language, tradition, literature, music, etc. It further implies certain visible and known general characteristics by which the group is usually being described; and thirdly, it implies a specific status of the group, which means its position or standing in relationship to other groups within a society, and to the society itself.

After this general clarification of terms, we can then proceed with the discussion of the identity of the Polish-Americans, and we will do so by answering four basic questions: First, what is the present identity of Polish Americans in the American society, i.e., what are the essentials of their cultural distinctness, their general characteristics and their position in the society. The second question will deal with the reasons for discussing our identity. People do not usually discuss their identity unless something is wrong with it. Is there, then, something wrong with the identity of the Polish-Americans? or, as the question was formulated differently elsewhere: Do we have a crisis of the Polish-American identity? The third question will depend, of course, on the answer to the second. If we answer that there is no crisis, then obviously we have nothing further to discuss. It seems to me, however, that we may have some questions about our identity, otherwise the subject would not be on the agenda of this Conference. We may then ask the next question: What is the quest? Or, in other words, what is it that we want to change, add to, or detract from, our present identity, and finally, if we answer the third question then we may ask ourselves: What precisely is it that we have to do in order to achieve the desired change—presumably, some improvements are necessary.

Regarding our first question: What is the present state of the identity of the Polish-Americans in the American society? As for the first criterion, we are all very much aware of our cultural distinction. We derive it, first of all from the fact that we are either descendants of Polish immigrants to this country, or we

are ourselves immigrants. We have all, not long ago, celebrated the thousand years of historical existence of Poland, and historians tell us that in order to have emerged around the year one thousand as an already powerful state, an organized political and social structure had already to exist for a long time before that date. This long historical existence, with all its glories and tragedies, its victories and defeats, with its periods of greatness and happiness and its periods of suffering and unhappiness together with the unique achievements in the fields of literature, art, music, science, technology and so on, have made us a distinct kind of people. Throughout the centuries of our history we have developed different ways of life, different ways of doing things, different ways of expressing joy and grief, and perhaps most important, a different and very unique language, and with it, unique ways of communication and interaction. We raise our children in these unique ways of motivation, of thinking and of behaving. We raise them in this way because we think it is the best and the right way, and also because it is the only way we know how best to raise our children.

The Polish-Americans also derive their identity from the fact that they are part of the American culture. For those who were born here, and who are second, third, or even fourth or fifth generation descendants of their immigrant ancestors, the image of the old culture may be less important. Some no longer speak the language, and some may not even understand it anymore, they may know little or nothing about Polish history or Polish culture, and still they identify themselves as Polish-Americans. They may belong to Polish-American organizations; they may associate privately, mostly, or in part at least with Polish-Americans; they may participate in some of the Polish-American activities and celebrations, and in general may seem somewhat closer and more comfortable with Polish-Americans than with other Americans. Even if they do not feel this special affinity with Polish-Americans, they may, at times of political crisis, or of some special events concerning the Polish-American and even the distant Poland—join in helping with something, in voting or in donating money.

Being born and socialized in the United States, of whatever vintage it may be, means identification also with, or primarily with, American history and culture. Though perhaps not as long as the old country's history, it contains the same kind of human experience—of war and peace, of happiness and misery, of success and of little failure. It means identification first of all the unique historical experience of the new country such as the Western frontier, taking possession of, and of developing a new continent, the unprecedented influx and absorption of millions of immigrants, the unparalleled technical and industrial development, catapulting the country in a short time into a position of world leadership, and, first and foremost, the uniqueness of its humane constitution with its lofty promises of human freedom, equal opportunity and dignity.

And there are also dear to every Polish-American, whether old or new, the two greatest heroes and symbols of the Polish-American heritage, Kosciuszko and Pulaski.

With regard to the tangible characteristics, by which we are known—we are one of the largest ethnic immigrant groups in the United States. But right here we have problems. Nobody really knows how to count the "ethnics". If we count the number of Polish immigrants that actually come to "America"—we find ourselves somewhere in the fourth or fifth place behind the English, Germans, and perhaps also Italians, and Irish. We do not know for certain, because as the immigration statistic began in 1820, Poland was occupied by the three powers, as were the Baltic countries. But at first and for a long time until 1899, they used the only proper way of determining national origin, namely by personal declaration of immigrants. But from 1899 until 1919—and that means during the peak years of immigration from Central and East Europe when most of the Polish immigrants came, from all three occupied territories, the system was changed for political reasons probably—and the actual political boundaries were used for determination of nationality. As a result Poles were registered as Russians, Britains or Germans. And we have some projected members—they are at best only a guess. But even the actual number of landed immigrants have little relevance to our present situation. More important would be to know how many actually identify themselves as Polish-Americans—and to this we have no definite answer. Some people think that the number would be somewhere about 8-10 million, others are more realistic and think in the 4-5 million. In reality it probably would depend on the situation and purpose of this identification. We

may complicate the matter even more and ask questions about awareness of Polish origin, or about the parents and grandparents on both sides in each generation and again the numbers will differ.

But in addition to the general numbers we are also known for our large concentration in some of the larger cities such as Chicago, Detroit, Buffalo, etc. not to forget Hamtramck which is probably still best known as the Polish city in the United States.

One of our outstanding and well known characteristics is the close tie of our cultural identity with religion similarly to the Jews, Lithuanians, Italians and others—with each having its special ways of identification, and its special problems with it.

The Polish-Americans are also characterized by their tendency to form numerous and powerful self-help fraternities with their associational homes and their organized and informal activities.

The third criterion of the cultural identity of ethnic groups—the standing of the group in the society—is a very important component of an ethnic identity. The acceptance or rejection by the society can, in extreme instances become—as it happened with the American Blacks—the primary focus of the groups existence. Like an individual, a group can build up and maintain its self-concept and identity in spite of lack of acceptance, but this means preoccupation with identity problems, defensiveness or withdrawal. Self-concepts and identities are developed in constant interaction with the environment; the lack of acceptance prevents the free flow of communication, prevents the free give-and-take in interaction, and consequently prevents effective reality testing. As a result, there is a danger on the part of the group, struggling for its acceptance, to become rigid and defensive which, in itself, may lead to further withdrawal, to further rigidity, to stereotyping, scapegoating, suspiciousness and distrust, prejudice and, finally, conflict.

Throughout its history, the American society, a nation of immigrants, had to cope with the steady, sometimes overwhelming influx of strangers, and did, at times, become quite anxious about the possible destructive impact these masses of newcomers would have on the unity and wholeness of the country. The free immigration to the U.S., uncontrolled for a long period of time, is an unique phenomenon in the history of mankind, and can be justly claimed as an unequalled achievement. It was only possible due to the newness of the country and the looseness of its structure, and to the almost unlimited resources and opportunities. These opportunities together with constitutional freedoms created the American dream, the magnet attracting the over forty million immigrants who have come to this country since 1820.

But the coping with the influx of newcomers was not always easy and as a result of the difficulties and anxieties aroused by them, the American society acquired an ambivalent attitude towards its immigrants. And when the anxieties became too strong, the free flow of immigrants was stopped and reopened later only as a strictly controlled trickle.

In the course of the process of coping with the masses of immigrants, a variety of ideologies of their adjustment to the society was developed. They can be roughly divided into two main categories: The first one could be called the ideology of absorption which covers such concepts as "assimilation", single or triple "melting pot," and Americanization. Another most recent variant of this absorption ideology was the theory supported by most social scientists that the ethnic groups are disappearing fast and, in fact, are already dead, and therefore not worthy of being studied or discussed. The essence of all these ideas was that the immigrant would in one way or another disappear, would become assimilated, melted into the American society as soon as possible. The other category is that of cultural pluralism which includes such terms as cultural democracy and the recently most popular term of integration. According to these terms, the cultural diversity of the American society had to be accepted as an expression of constitutional rights.

The large numbers of strangers pouring into the country at the rate of one million and a half per year for over a decade, and the great variety of them was a disturbing experience to those who came earlier. It is not surprising that the absorption theories were so popular and that the old-timers dreamt wishfully of a homogeneous American society in which everybody would be like everybody else, meaning, of course, like the Anglo-Saxon or, among Catholics, like the Irish. This myth of the homogeneous American society is still very strong and popular.

One of the most important expressions of the rejection of ethnic groups was the principle of the immigrant's individual identification with the new country with complete disregard for his ethnic group. In effect it meant that the individual immigrant would be accepted by the society as an individual, but that he should lose his ethnic distinctness and disappear in the multitudes. This meant, of course, rejection of the ethnic groups.

This was well expressed in the report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, in June, 1969:

The myth of the melting pot has obscured the great degree to which Americans have historically identified with their national citizenship through their myriad subnational affiliations. This has meant inevitable group competition, friction, and conflict.

The report goes on to refute the "kind of historical amnesia" out of which came the myth of national homogeneity and adds:

As probably the most ethnically and culturally pluralistic nation in the world, the United States has functioned less as a nation of individuals than of groups.

The frequent changes of names that accompanied the attainment of American citizenship were lauded by some judges as a symptom of the highest degree of Americanization, and so probably they were, though perhaps not always in the sense in which it was perceived. However, it is only fair to mention that these pressures, as strong as they were, remained mostly within the limits of the American concept of civil liberties enabling the ethnic groups to continue to exist and to live their lives as they saw fit.

The absorption theories soon proved to be ineffective. The ethnic groups not only did not melt down to some alchemic mixture, not only did they refuse to die, but all of a sudden they became again visible and threaten even to assert themselves by electing their own mayors in some major cities, and even more so they begin to communicate and cooperate with other ethnic groups against all rules of the old game, and even with those who were supposed to be their greatest adversaries.

But the price for this defiance had to be paid; on one hand there were those members of the ethnic groups who thought that for the sake of their own opportunities and success they not only had to leave the community, but had to cease to identify themselves with the culture of their origin. Others again left because they found life in the Polish communities too restricting, and by leaving them, they gradually lost their ethnic identity. And these were frequently the educated, the businessmen, the professionals.

The American society also paid its price. Lack of acceptance of ethnic groups by the society inevitably led to defensiveness and to defiance to scapegoating, stereotyping, to mutual distrust prejudice and to intergroup conflicts. The case of the Black-Americans is only the most extreme example of the impact of this atmosphere.

All of the above, the history and culture of the old country, the history of the new country, the situational aspects during the arrival, and the important factor of the mode of acceptance by the American society, all of these are part of the identity of the ethnic groups in U.S.A. and consequently also of the Polish-American group.

With regard to their specific standing in the society, the Polish-Americans occupy a place approximately in accordance with their time order of arrival in the great timetable of immigration; that means somewhere behind the Western European groups and above the more recent immigrants, and the racial groups which, because they could not disappear, could not fit into the scheme of the individual adjustment and consequently were put outside the constitution itself. We could, of course, go into greater detail about the specific relationship of the American society to the Polish group. One could point up the fact that the Polish group, as the most cohesive ones, and one of the largest, probably constituted the greatest threat to the American adjustment theories, and consequently would become the object of the greatest pressures by the society. One probably could find evidence of this if one really looked for it. But I do not think this is too important.

The development of free and mature ethnic identities can occur only in a free, open, and accepting society, and accepting does not mean just tolerating, which often is nothing else but an expression of condescension or of polite indifference. Acceptance of the ethnic groups means interest in them by the American society, it means knowledge about and appreciation of the ethnic cultures, and means

direct and active assistance to the groups in their efforts to develop their unique patterns. We may still have a long way to go but we must never give up.

Despite all the above inequities there was always, and there still is, the great American constitution, and there are the pluralistic theories like a "silver lining of hope."

We have gone, in our discussion, far beyond the first question. In fact we have answered to some extent the second question, which is about the present-day identity crisis among the Polish-Americans. Do we really have an identity crisis? The answer to this question may, of course, differ depending on whether one is of the half-empty or half-full glass of water variety of personality, and one can have only subjective and unverified opinions at this point. Judging by my own observations as a teacher, and by the general information obtained from the Polish press, and perhaps also by the response I have received to my articles on the subject of identity, I feel that we are at a very critical point with regard to our identity. The problem exists not so much with us, the adults who have been raised and have lived our whole lives by the Polish-American or the original Polish patterns. The problem lies with our youth. It seems to me that not only are a greater number of our young people abandoning their ethnic identification, but there is a great deal of disillusionment and of dissatisfaction with the old ways of the Polish-American community. It is, of course, easy to justify everything by the lack of acceptance by society, or by affluence making interaction and communication through the mass media, as well as through personal mobility, so intense that any hope for particularistic socialization through even partial isolation, becomes futile.

It is true that it was exactly this semi-isolation of the Polish community, out of defensiveness and defiance, that enabled the Polish-Americans to retain and to maintain their cultural identity for so long. Centered around the simple but deeply significant, precepts of language and faith, it was the main element in the survival of the Polish ethnic community, and it was enough for the preservation of the old ways. The inspirational impact of the organization of the expeditionary force in 1918 and the enthusiastic outburst of accumulated feelings for the old country in behalf of Hoover's relief action to post-war Poland in 1920 were the high water marks of the Old Polish-American communities. Then came the depression and, with it, the stagnation of social life, and afterwards came World War II with its mobilization of all forces for the war effort, and again the repression of the social life to the survival level. Then followed the post-World War II period, with that upsurge of economic and social development which required a great deal of adjustment and flexibility but for which the old Polish-American community was not prepared. Three factors were shaping the course of developments in the 1950's and 1960's. The first was the change of attitudes of the society toward its ethnic groups after the war. The victorious war and the performance of ethnic sons on the battlefields all over the world finally convinced the society that the ethnic members could also actually be good Americans. It brought about a general climate of optimism, of good will, mutual trust and self-confidence. But returning Polish-American veterans brought back not only their numerous medals but also their experience of all-American camaraderie in the trenches and of pride in being American; and they did not feel too happy in the restricted and frequently defensive way of the old-style life in the Polish community.

The second factor, related to the first one but independent, was probably even more important. The new affluence gained through the economic development brought about a general mobility which became a threat to the existence of the closed ethnic communities. The young people were no longer satisfied to stay in the little home built by their parents and grandparents, and they were moving out to other areas of the cities or into the suburbs. Even if the directions of moving were usually somewhat patterned, the result were often disastrous to the old community. Entire areas were changing their ethnic character. The Blacks, long suppressed in their areas and having also benefited from the economic affluence, began to spread out and move into these areas. It is only natural that the transitional period of change and replacement would bring many conflicts. The lack of leadership with foresight and vision, in the nation and in the communities, prevented any planned communal action.

The third factor in the shaping of the Polish-American community in the post World War II period was the arrival of the displaced persons. In a sense, the arrival of these newcomers eased the pains of the changes. They needed the community for their psychological security and they also frequently found there

good opportunities for their first settling down in the new country. They brought with them a new awareness of cultural distinctness which they were able, to a great extent, to transmit to the whole Polish-American group. It can easily be understood that there were bound to be some misunderstandings also between these newcomers and the oldtimers. But there was enough of the commonality of cultural heritage and of purpose to enable both sides to overcome these difficulties, to gain mutual respect, and to enable them to cooperate for common causes.

There were two other powerful forces which, in this process of general adjustment, played a very significant if mostly conservative role. These are the Church and the mutual help fraternities. With the desire to strengthen its general position, the Catholic hierarchy has long ago decided upon a general policy of unity within the Catholic Church and consequently of suppression of the ethnic churches. Due to the special character of Polish Catholicism and of the position of the church in the Polish community, this policy lead to deep conflicts within the Polish-American community; it undermined the unity of language and faith, weakened the leadership position of the Polish-American clergy in the communities and, as the final result, undermined also the basic attitudes of the Polish-American toward his distinct cultural identity. The recent action of the Polish-American clergy promises some changes in this regard.

The role of the self-help fraternities in the Polish-American communities grew from purely economic functions geared toward survival at first, to an active, and often leadership position in social and cultural areas. The conservative, business approach of the frequently economically powerful organizations, to cultural affairs, can probably be regarded as the main cause of the cultural low level fixation of the Polish-American group. It was a matter of omission rather than commission. Having taken the initiative in social and cultural areas, and having the resources, the fraternities preempted the possibility of developing new leadership and initiative. This was the greatest frustration of the new immigrant and lead to their initial withdrawal from community life. On the other hand, one must not forget or dismiss some outstanding achievements of the fraternities, like the Polish Alliance College, the Polish Museum, and others. But such individual projects are not a sufficient measure of the potential contributions of these powerful organizations for the Polish-American group.

We have discussed briefly the conditions of the identity crisis of Polish-Americans. They can be summarized in three points:

(1) The general disaffection of the Polish-American youth, their lack of interest and of pride in their cultural heritage, and the subsequent feelings of inferiority and insecurity in their association and interaction with other groups and with the general society.

(2) The inflexible and outdated style of cultural life in Polish communities, permeating both the organized social and cultural activities of the Polish group, as well as the informal communal activities and the family life in the Polish community. The lack of Polish cultural resources for the family, for youth groups and for communities, is probably the most striking shortcoming of the Polish group. The rigidity of the institutionalized forms of social and cultural life in the Polish-American community has prevented any effective adjustment to the changing conditions of the post-war period, with particular reference to the mobility of the population and the consequent increasing dissolution of the Polish-American communities. (3) The general lack of dynamic cultural leadership that would be able to inspire the Polish-American community and to move it to constructive action, and the conservatism in the use of financial resources, are probably the main causes of the general inertia in taking up the challenge of the present times and securing for Polish-Americans a proper place in the American society.

Having formulated the elements of crisis, we still have to answer the question of why we should make the effort to confirm our unique identity and to reformulate it in accordance with the need of our times. The answer to this question cannot be just an emotional appeal to our old and new loyalties as derived from our traditions and sentiments. We do not need the answer for ourselves and particularly for those gathered here—we are already convinced; but we need the answers for all those who have doubts about the sense and purpose of the cultivation of our distinct Polish-American identity and, first of all, for our youth which, in its present mood, is apt to question everything. We also need to convince the American society.

In answering the question we have shown clearly the advantages, first to members of the group, and second to the American society. The individual advantages

to members include the potential for a richer personality. To paraphrase an old proverb: to know two cultures is to have two souls. The ethnic character of the old culture provides deeper roots for self-identity and for more meaningful relationship to self, to others, to the community, to society, and to the world. It provides deeply satisfying patterns of expressiveness and provides organization of personality and stability. It facilitates socialization of children and provides motivational patterns for life in community and society. On the other hand, life in the American society provides satisfactions of the excitement of participation in a dynamic modern society and, through it, in the making of the modern world. Thus, to the Polish-American it is the advantage of a bi-cultural personality, richer than any of its single components, a personality with both deep roots and with the outreach of the modern man. A bi-cultural personality has greater potential for growth and maturity and for higher levels of functioning in the complex modern world.

The above advantages to individual members of ethnic groups are general elements of personality development and maturation which, by themselves, are also values to the general society. But the ethnic groups, as groups, are also of great value to society. They constitute an invaluable means of maintaining cultural interest in society and are probably one of the most effective antidotes to the deadly effects of mass culture, by adding meaning and zest to life in an industrialized mechanized and megalopolized modern world with its leveling mass media, its shallowing of human interaction and its dehumanizing impact of raw materialism. And finally, the experience with the ethnic group provides the American society with the unique opportunity for developing the intellectual and emotional orientations, knowledge and skills necessary for its leadership role in the world, for constructive use of diversity toward unity, and for the movement of mankind toward unity and peace.

But in answering the question: Why ethnic identity?, another point has disadvantages still to be clarified and that is the relationship of Polish-Americans to the Polish culture in general and to contemporary Polish society and culture in particular. For some Polish-Americans, particularly those whose families have been in this country for several generations, the maintenance and cultivation of the relationship with the past and contemporary Polish culture seems of somewhat dubious value. Some even think that the Polish-American history in itself is sufficient for maintaining a unique ethnic identity. They seem to be so remote from the historical and cultural content of the old country that even in visiting it they are not stirred by any emotions of affinity or excitement of any kind. As one of them told me, "Everything seemed strange to me, I simply felt like in a foreign country." And this was a highly educated person with a Ph.D. in history. Well, perhaps the study of history does not inspire identification with the culture of one's ancestors, but let us hope that this was an isolated case, and perhaps one could find an explanation for these attitudes in the family socialization process of this young man. But this case may also be taken as a warning. The identification with the cultural past in an ethnic group will not just happen. It has to be cultivated, and if the Polish-Americans are serious about the maintenance of their distinct identity then they have to approach this problem of relating to the cultural past and to present Polish culture very seriously. There is, of course, no direct evidence against the possibility of maintaining an ethnic identity exclusively on the basis of the American experience of the group. However, such a possibility has not yet been demonstrated and it is an open question whether it is really a possibility.

Without the contact with the cultural past and with the living, present-day cultures of the old country, an ethnic group will probably wither and lose its identity. It may exist for some time, but it is doubtful that it could maintain its distinctness unless it were to isolate itself, like the Amish. The Irish group can probably serve as an example of the opposite effect. Without any special effort of cultivating their identity in this country—except, maybe, for St. Patrick's Day—they maintain their identity almost exclusively through intense contacts with the mother country. However maintaining contact with the past and present culture of the old country does not mean copying it literally. Having left their country, the immigrants and their descendants can be selective in their identification with the cultural or historical contents and forms of their old country. It is not necessary for them to identify with the faults and shortcomings and with the mistakes, either of the past or the present, of their culture of origin. It is the privilege and the unique opportunity of the immigrant to preserve his cultural heritage in the most idealized and pure form; and he must constantly keep in mind that his

cultural identity must also be a contribution to the new society. In this sense, any transmission of inter-group prejudices or antagonisms is not only unnecessary and unwise, but it is also unfair to the new country.

To summarize the answer to our third question I submit that the maintenance and cultivation of a strong Polish-American identity is of invaluable advantage to the personal development of the Polish-American and of his children, and is also a significant contribution to the American society. Consequently, the American society should accept and cherish ethnic groups as a permanent and valuable part of the American society and culture. And finally, in order to assure the vitality and dynamism of their group, the Polish-Americans should maintain strong contacts with the past and present Polish culture, though they should be selective in the transmission of cultural forms and content, in order to avoid negative aspects.

And now comes the last great question: How much concern and effort will it take to revitalize the Polish-American identity? It certainly will require personal commitment on the part of many. It will require careful planning, action, and organized cooperation of all segments of Polish-American communities. The first and foremost task should be concern with youth. We can only hope that it is not already too late. All programmed activities should be oriented toward youth—as the main reason and concern of the group's organized efforts. Youth should be involved in all relevant aspects to them, of social and cultural activities on the community and national level. We must provide our youth with more opportunities of learning the Polish language and culture, making full use of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and by creating new resources such as efforts to support the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill introduced by Congressman Pucinski. We must provide financial resources for scholarships focusing on Polish studies and studies in Poland after the Kosciuszko Foundation pattern, and we have to provide for large scale visits by young people to Poland. We may also have to think of professional leadership for assisting our youth in their organizational life aimed at social and cultural development.

The second task within the goal of cultivating our identity is the development of cultural resources for the family, for schools, groups, and communities. There is a pitiful dearth of resources, and as far as I know there is no known plan for providing them. We need publications of all sorts not only on the highest literary level, but probably even more for children, for youth, and for the less educated.

We also should consciously cultivate our relationship with the general society and with other ethnic groups. We should carefully separate our political involvements from our cultural activities. For instance by planned group support and participation in worthy non-political causes such as anti-pollution or beautification drives, we not only will demonstrate our sense of civic responsibility, but also will act in accordance with old Polish values emphasizing love of nature and appreciation of beauty.

With regard to the relationship with other ethnic groups, it is only proper that as one of the largest and most established groups we would take initiative in establishing and cultivating cultural contacts with blacks in activist and other ethnic groups, and be of assistance to the weaker or less established ones.

There is no end to possibilities and plans. They will all require, first of all, organization of action within the Polish-American group and will require mobilization of resources, of leadership and of good will.

CHICAGO, ILL., January 14, 1970.

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR ROMAN: I was very gratified that you introduced the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill in Congress. I congratulate you on your farsightedness.

As the former President of the American Council of Polish Cultural Clubs, and the Polish Arts Club of Chicago, I must say that you are rendering the Polish-American Community a great service.

We welcome any program that will help us, and future generations, to understand our ethnic heritage. The paucity of studies in this area is great.

Please don't hesitate to call if I can be of assistance.

Sincerely,

THADDEUS L. KOWALSKI, Attorney at Law.

APRIL 5, 1970.

Hon. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
U.S. Congress.

DEAR SIR: My name is Dr. Vladimir Kucera. I am a former Editor-in-Chief of daily newspaper of the Democratic Christian Party in Czechoslovakia. I left my country after the Communist coup-d'etat in 1948, and now I am living in Lincoln, Nebraska. I am Curator of the oldest house in Lincoln, built in 1869 by the first Secretary of the new state of Nebraska, and from the year 1959 I am teaching the Czech language and literature at the University of Nebraska (evening classes).

In the year 1959 I started my activity to revive love for the Czech language and heritage in Nebraska. Thousand and thousand of Czech pioneers settled Nebraska in the past and they contributed very much for cultural, economical and agricultural development of this state. And my basic idea was to revive and preserve this rich heritage. I started to organize Czech clubs in different centers of the Czech settlement and started to teach mother-tongue of Czech pioneers. Hundred and hundred of students were in the past in my classes. I tried to preserve love for folksongs, customs, national costumes and folk dances, too. And result of our work is very good. Nebraska is leading state in the Union in this so important activity.

Every year we organize Czech festivals of our music, songs and dances in different centers of Czech settlement. The biggest (last year 40,000 visitors) is in the town of Wilber which was by the declaration of Governor proclaimed The Czech Capitol of Nebraska.

In the year 1967, when Nebraska celebrated a hundred year of the Statehood, I published larger study about history of Czech pioneers, a book "Czechs and Nebraska". I will be glad, if you will accept my book. Only Czech ethnical group published this kind of book during that Centennial.

I am very happy and glad you introduced in Congress a bill proposing to establish centers for ethnic heritage studies. Nebraska could be the most important center for this activity.

Especially, I thank you very much for your kind friendship with people of Czech origin.

Sincerely,

DR. VLADIMIR KUCERA,
Lincoln, Nebr.

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, INC.,
Jersey City, N.J., February 9, 1970.

Hon. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education, U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PUCINSKI: On behalf of the Ukrainian National Association I want to express our deep gratitude to you and your colleagues for introducing and sponsoring H. R. 14910, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill, in the United States Congress last November.

Your bill is a step in the right direction at a moment in our history when such help is vitally needed by our nation. Our youth is groping for a fuller understanding of their role in today's society which is comprised of adults from many lands and with differing cultures. They need to be informed. Comprehensive knowledge of the backgrounds of fellow citizens will go a long way toward establishing harmony and respect in our midst. Your bill, in my opinion, will help to bring that about amongst our young people and tomorrow's leaders.

Congratulations and best wishes for positive action in Congress on H. R. 14910.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH LESAWYER,
President.

THE CLAREMONT COLLEGES,
Claremont, Calif., January 29, 1970.

Hon. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education, U.S. House of Representatives,
Committee on Education and Labor, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Thank you very much for informing me of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill (H.R. 14910). The summary indicates that the bill has

the potential to provide some desperately needed assistance in a critical area.

There are some questions, however, that I feel compelled to ask. The first is, how is the responsibility for dissemination of funds to be delegated? The second is, what kinds of limitations or restrictions are there with regard to total sum to be appropriated to any given center? The third is, will there be regional restrictions regarding the distribution of funds? Some aspects of these questions, of course, are not as legislative as they are questions of bureaucratic procedure. However, they are of paramount importance to me and my unqualified support is dependent on the answers.

Mexican American Studies centers are rapidly increasing in number throughout the southwest and the west generally. In California we now have over twenty centers. We are all plagued with the same problem, namely that of funding. We find a most unfortunate and disheartening level of insensitivity to the needs of Mexican Americans.

We here at the Mexican American Studies Center of the Claremont Colleges have begun preliminary investigation into the very areas you focus upon in the bill. That is, one of our activities over the next few years will be the development and sophistication of elementary and secondary school curriculum. Presently, we hope to develop two types of curriculum. The first type is one which focuses all of its energies on the specific needs of Mexican American children. This curriculum is being developed through a Project Follow Through grant and independently by our Mexican American Studies Center. There will be a comprehensive and viable synthesis of these two efforts over the next two years. The second type of curriculum we plan to develop is one which is multi-cultural. That is, we hope to develop a curriculum that can be used in a maximum number of circumstances. This would be done by integrating as many elements of as many facets of man's development as possible. This system would be co-ordinated through a data bank system and would very likely be a humanities curriculum with an emphasis on the fundamental skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking.

We envision the development of these projects to take place in a systematic way with concurrent documentation to facilitate dissemination of materials. Further, we hope to develop the curriculum so it can ultimately be incorporated into a "kit" with a concomitant teacher training program for even more efficient distribution.

As you can see, our interests are wholly compatible with the intent of the bill as described in the summary and in the context of its intent the bill has my whole hearted support. The fiscal aspect does present a dilemma. The amount of the appropriation sought seems altogether too minuscule for a nation wide program. The need in this area is critical and it is of more than casual importance. The disenchantment, anxiety and frustration of minority people in this country is closely related to the early educational experiences that by virtue of ignorance with or without malice exclude the very real needs of our minority culture children. H.R. 14910 is a responsible step in the proper direction but without an appropriate fiscal re-enforcement it can become just another empty gesture.

If I can be of any assistance whatsoever to you in this effort please feel free to call upon me.

Sincerely,

RONALD W. LOPEZ,
Director.

ORDER OF AHEPA.
Washington, D.C., February 24, 1970.

Hon. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
The House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PUCINSKI: Thank you for your letter and for the copy of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill which you have introduced in the House of Representatives.

You are to be warmly congratulated for your sponsorship of this Bill, and also for your interest in the matter of the ethnic backgrounds of students and of all Americans.

As an American organization composed largely of citizens of Greek descent, the Order of Ahepa is intensely interested in the Bill, and I would appreciate being informed of your scheduled hearings, and of developments.

If the fraternity can be of any assistance in this major development, please let me know.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

LOUIS G. MANESIOTIS,
President.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM W. MARVEL, PRESIDENT, EDUCATION AND WORLD AFFAIRS
NEW YORK, N.Y.

The organization of which I am president has as its mandate the strengthening of the international or intercultural dimension of U.S. higher education and the furtherance of international educational cooperation.

It had its origins in the 1960 report of the Morrill Committee, a group of educators and men of public affairs (chaired by J. W. Morrill, then president of the University of Minnesota) who were assembled by the Ford Foundation. Their purpose was to survey the performance of U.S. universities in the years following the Second World War in preparing their graduates to be at least informed citizens of a nation which had, almost willy nilly, inherited new global interests and responsibilities.

The major conclusion of the report—published under the title of the University and World Affairs—was that our universities were, in general, doing much less than they should in this regard—and an organization, which later emerged as Education and World Affairs, was recommended to assist our higher educational institutions in strengthening their research, teaching and service activities in the international field.

Two years after the Morrill Committee report, in 1962, we had added evidence that we as a nation were surprisingly weak in readying our college graduates to cope with the multi-national and multi-problem world into which they stepped. Percy Bidwell, for many years director of studies at the Council of Foreign Relations in New York, completed a study that year in which he was forced to conclude that fewer than ten percent of our then-liberal arts college graduates had exposure during their four-year career to even one course involving a non-Western content.

Measurable progress has been made since then—progress toward which Education and World Affairs has made a modest contribution. Statistically, the results are impressive—some 110,000 foreign students now at U.S. institutions; between 20,000 and 30,000 young Americans embarked on some form of study abroad programs; something like 12,000 foreign scholars and professors visiting and teaching in the U.S. during the academic year, and about 5,000 of their U.S. counterparts lecturing or researching abroad. (Approximate figures for 1968-69)

But despite this impressive inventory, there are many existing gaps—many areas where no forward movement is discernable—in education for international or intercultural understanding within the U.S. To put it bluntly—U.S. higher education has a much longer distance to travel than it has so far come!

Relative to the vast increase in enrollment since Bidwell's study—a total of some 6.9 million now in our higher education institutions—it is doubtful if we have made much, if any, progress since 1962 in exposing the great body of our students to non-Western or multi-cultural understanding. Consider these facts: 1) U.S. professional schools—which award 52 percent of all four-year bachelor degrees—have been even slower than liberal arts schools in providing either an international or an intercultural dimension in their curriculum (because of their vocational bias); 2) nearly 2,000,000 of our 6.9 college students are in our 960 junior colleges—and only a tiny handful of these have so far been able to offer any kind of intercultural or ethnic curriculum; 3) a large proportion of these junior college students are terminal, that is, do not continue their education after their sophomore year and therefore do not get any intercultural course content unless exposed to it during their junior college career; 4) an all-too-large proportion of our liberal arts colleges continue to offer a thoroughly Western-oriented curriculum—certainly the growth of courses with an international or intercultural content (of 50 percent or more) has been unsystematic and heavily Western-focused; 5) Western orientation begins in the elementary and secondary levels and carries through the higher education institutions; 6) a 1966 report on education in New York State estimated that

the average high school student spends less than two percent of his time studying those parts of the world that contain two-thirds of the world's population and whose historical record goes back much farther than our own.

Although the prime focus of Education and World Affairs since 1962-63 has been on higher education, here and overseas, it is quite obvious that education is a continuing stream, and that the international-intercultural dimension must be introduced at the early stages of that stream. For this reason, our organization has explored and supported a wide variety of efforts to introduce our students at an early age to the rich experience of multi-cultural understanding. It is out of this concern that we thoroughly endorse the provisions of H.R. 14910.

Three of the provisions (Sec. 903) of the bill—the development of multi-cultural and ethnic studies curriculum materials, the dissemination of such materials and the training of persons to utilize such materials—would, in our experience, meet a real need in today's educational system. During 1965-67 Education and World Affairs, assisted by a number of professionals and practitioners in various fields, carried out a study of eight different professions—of which education or teacher training, naturally was one—to determine how effectively U.S. professional schools were preparing their graduates for a role in today's world. The study was published in brochure and book form, under the title of *THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL AND WORLD AFFAIRS*.

The study of our schools of education made the dismal observation that relatively few such institutions were even attempting to introduce a multi-cultural dimension into their course content.

The proposal in H.R. 14910 to provide training—through the proposed Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers—for teachers and others to make use of curriculum materials developed under the Act would directly respond to this weakness and provide interested schools of education with a most valuable resource.

Similarly, it is our experience that many educational institutions and a good many individual educators—at the elementary and secondary levels no less than at the higher institutions—appear willing to infuse new materials into their course content, but find great difficulty in locating and then obtaining the material resources required. In part, this is an informational problem—a pulling together in one or more convenient sources the resources that can be tapped. The provisions in the Act concerning development and distribution of ethnic and multicultural curriculum materials would greatly assist existing institutions to move forward into the area.

The establishment of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers will be facilitated by the groundwork that has been done by agencies involved in education in the schools. Conceptual and structural foundations worked out in international education will have relevance to the framework for Ethnic Studies. Some of these agencies have intercultural and ethnic programs as well. Among such operations are the Foreign Policy Association, which this past summer completed a Study of the Objectives, Needs and Priorities in International Education in U.S. Secondary and Elementary Schools. It also has underway an Ethnic Studies Curricular and Conferences Project. The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education has curriculum development projects on Africa and the Caribbean being carried out by groups of their member institutions. The Ogontz Plan Committee, International House of Philadelphia, has a carefully planned "live laboratory" program in elementary and secondary schools by arranging for selected foreign students to teach about their own countries and cultures in regular classroom situations. This seems an intelligent and mutually beneficial use of foreign students as an educational resource. A similar type program is operating at Ohio University's School of Education, which has a Foreign Student Advisory Council that advises, consults, and teaches in schools requesting their services.

Innovative programs in intercultural or ethnic education at the Goshen School of Pike County, Alabama and the Allegheny County Schools in Pennsylvania were described in recent issues of EWA's new monthly information service, *Intercultural Education*. The unexpectedly widespread and genuine response to this publication is, I believe, indicative of the vacuum which exists in providing information about new programs and new resources in the ethnic and intercultural fields. Begun by EWA in December, 1969 this news service—which covers most of the component subject areas of what we designate as intercultural education—has met with such appreciation in the academic community

and related organizations that we are now printing—and distributing free—some 10,000 copies monthly. As commercial publications go, this is not a circulation figure to cause rival editors alarm, admittedly, but for an educational publication it is an impressive total to date. More important, an analysis of some 400 to 500 letters so far received regarding the publication tells us that many of the users are educators—and many of them at the elementary, secondary and junior college levels—who are vitally interested in being made aware of resources and new approaches available for ethnic studies and multi-cultural education.

We have been impressed, for instance, by a well-established Ethnic Studies program which is operative at the City College of San Francisco, CCSF, a junior college, has an enrollment of 10,000 students and is located in the southern Bay section of the city. The ethnic makeup of the student body prompted a specially designed curriculum in Afro-American, Chinese and Latin American Studies. The day school has 3,104 Orientals (Chinese and/or Japanese Americans), 726 students with Spanish surnames (mainly Mexican-American), 33 American Indians and 1,139 Black students. There are in addition 806 foreign students from a wide variety of countries.

The EWA Task Force on Education which conducted the previously-mentioned work on schools of education under our Study on the Professional Schools and World Affairs made a significant recommendation. "There are major problems outside the main concerns of this report," wrote the Task Force, "which need to be taken into account if the world affairs knowledge of the average U.S. citizen is equal to U.S. responsibility as a nation. These problems deserve much more extensive treatment under the general rubric of 'The Elementary and Secondary Schools and World Affairs,' for they go far beyond the formal and informal preparation of teachers. They deal with the nature of the U.S. school system itself, community expectations, and the subcultures of childhood and youth. This Task Force hopes that at some future date a study can be made in depth of these topics, thereby proving a useful support to the programs . . . which seek to enrich education below the college level."

The program proposed in H.R. 14910 seems to us to be a most promising beginning to this large problem area.

THE IRISH AMERICAN CULTURAL INSTITUTE,
Saint Paul, Minn., February 27, 1970.

ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education, U.S. House of Representatives,
Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PUCINSKI: We are pleased to learn of your efforts to promote an understanding of the diversity of cultural contributions that have made our American culture.

If we can be of any service to you in this endeavor please let us know. I have been honored by a D. Litt. degree, *honoris causa*, from the National University of Ireland—an honor all the more noteworthy because it is shared with Robert Frost and J. F. Kennedy—for my efforts to help the American public understand the Irish contribution to America.

Because of this and my long experience in education I may be able to help others understand the importance of your proposal.

Sincerely yours,

Eoin McKiernan, President.

THE IRISH AMERICAN CULTURAL INSTITUTE,
Saint Paul, Minn., March 9, 1970.

ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education,
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PUCINSKI: We write to let you know the opinion of our organization with respect to H.R. 14910, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill.

The Irish American Cultural Institute is an international organization devoted to purposes quite in line with those of this bill as least as they relate to the contribution of the Irish to American civilization. It would be unnatural, then, did we not appreciate the intent of the bill and favor its passage.

In our experience, we have noted the growth of appreciation on the part of American scholars for the ethnic contributions that have fused into a new civilization here. When we were isolated from the rest of the world our concerns in the U.S. were to repress and suppress all awareness of indebtedness to other cultures.

Now, however, in a more mature and confident manner we can analyze these complex relationships to so many other cultures. Such analysis helps us to understand ourselves better—naturally. But, more importantly, we may only now be becoming aware of the degree to which this federal union here of diverse cultures can appeal to the rest of the world as a model for a peaceful United States of the Earth—visionary, but to be striven for.

As an organization of literate and sophisticated people with a cultural interest in the Irish ethnic contribution to our country, we would wish that your plan to establish ethnic heritage studies centers might soon be effected. Its potential to stimulate an extraordinary cultural enrichment of our country is so great that its passage might date the opening of a new American Renaissance.

Sincerely yours,

EOIN MCKIERNAN, *President.*

NEW JERSEY COUNCIL OF ESTONIAN, LATVIAN,
AND LITHUANIAN AMERICANS.

Lakewood, N.J., April 7, 1970.

ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education, Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PUCINSKI: The following statement is submitted on behalf of the various New Jersey organizations of Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian Americans and the Baltic-American citizens living in the State of New Jersey:

The New Jersey Council of Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian Americans fully supports and endorses H.R. 14910, the "Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill."

Presently millions of our students and teachers do not have any facilities which are readily available information and material about the rich and varied ethnic cultures comprising the American Heritage.

A program which will give the opportunity, for students and teachers, to study the numerous cultural heritages, will provide for better understanding of our neighbors and fellow citizens.

This understanding, in turn, will greatly reduce prejudice and foster true American patriotism.

Sincerely yours,

VALENTINAS MELINIS, *Chairman.*

REPORT ON LITHUANIAN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN THE U.S.A. BY BRONIUS NAINYS,
PRESIDENT, LITHUANIAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY OF U.S.A., INC.

INTRODUCTION

The memorandum that follows should shed a little more light on the American-Lithuanian contribution to the cultural life and wealth of the United States. Over the past 100 years, the American Lithuanians have played a large role (in proportion to their population) in the development of American culture.

However, as it is true of other minority and ethnic groups, the accomplishments of the Lithuanians have gone unnoticed. Very few intellectuals and scholars are aware of the exceptional drive of these people. No governmental agency has taken upon itself to catalog the accomplishments of this minority group. Such lack of interest is detrimental to the free development of the American cultural life.

"Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill (H.R. 14910)" is a step in the right direction. It has been overdue far too long. The American Lithuanian Community of U.S.A., Inc. supports this Bill and expresses its sincere hope that the Centers become a reality. Every effort should be exerted to accomplish this worthwhile end.

Since time is of the essence, we are rushing this report as a manifestation of our interest and support of the Bill. A more detailed account of our support and position may be prepared upon request.

The first Lithuanian immigrants came to this country seeking political and cultural freedom. They found both and began their life anew. The numerous parishes that sprang up all over the Eastern United States sheltered these people and their life began to flourish. Creative pastimes have always been the trademark of the Lithuanians. This drive found good soil in the United States and the results were beyond any expectation.

What started out to be small choirs soon developed into complex cultural organizations embracing all forms of music, dance and art forms. With the help of young professionals of Lithuanian heritage, these groups staged numerous concerts, operas, musicals and exhibits.

The parish schools began to expand their curriculums to include Lithuanian studies, such as history, language, geography, folklore and related courses. Eventually, some of the schools developed into sophisticated institutes of Lithuanian culture and their numbers are increasing each decade.

The varied and dynamic activity within parish limits encouraged expansion of their facilities. Presently, there are over 115 such national parishes in the United States and some 150 churches, some of which were designed by American-Lithuanian architects based on Lithuanian folk art motifs.

The American-Lithuanian cultural activity was further encouraged by the large immigration of Lithuanians after the Second World War. The war had displaced the intellectual segment of the Lithuanian population, which represented the well educated and talented, who were equipped to expand the programs commenced by their forefathers in the United States.

To consolidate the numerous cultural activities, the new immigrants founded the American Lithuanian Community of U.S., Inc., which organization has embraced almost all of the Lithuanian cultural activities within the United States.

Forty-four new, private schools, financed by the Lithuanian community, have been started; summer courses in Lithuanian language are being offered by two outstanding universities (Fordham University and University of Pennsylvania); many new choirs, folk dance groups, art clubs, athletic clubs, and similar organizations have been formed. Every five years, dance and song festivals are sponsored by the American Lithuanian community, drawing tens of thousands of spectators to admire the respective forms of art. Various cultural centers have been established in Chicago, Cleveland, New York and other cities. Art galleries, archives, libraries, pedagogic institutes, high schools, and youth camps have sprung up as the result of this organized activity.

Some 200 periodicals are published in the Lithuanian language within the United States, as well as numerous books, recordings, musical compositions, etc. Twenty regularly scheduled Lithuanian radio programs and three daily Lithuanian newspapers cover the various activities.

Among the more noteworthy organizations that have emerged since the Second World War include the Museum of Lithuanian Culture (Chicago), the Lithuanian Opera Company (Chicago), several youth and adult theatrical companies, several ballet schools, Art Association (Chicago), and an Athletic Union (Cleveland).

Periodically, the American Lithuanian Community sponsors Cultural Congress of American Lithuanians, World Youth Festivals, and Scholar Conventions (see enclosure). In addition, numerous groups, representing the whole spectrum of our cultural activity, tour South America, Europe and Australia on a regular basis.

With some 500 organizations engaging in various fields of cultural activity, it is impossible to measure the contribution of the American Lithuanians. Limited responses have prevented the accumulation of scientific data, but we feel that such study and data gathering would be most appreciated by the academic community in particular and the American public in general.

The American Lithuanians have not been heard of by many Americans. That is no one's fault, but it is the nature of the people involved. Instead of advertising their achievements, the American Lithuanians are creating, singing or dancing.

LITHUANIAN PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN USA

In the school year 1968/69, Lithuanian has been taught in 44 private schools in USA. It has been taught in regular schools and in Saturday, Sunday, and evening schools.

Regular schools

1. St. Anthony's High School, Kennebunkport, Maine.
2. St. Anthony's School, Cicero, Ill.
3. St. George's School, Chicago, Ill.
4. Immaculate Conception School, Chicago, Ill.
5. Nativity B V Mary School, Chicago, Ill.
6. St. Casimir's School, Los Angeles, Calif.

7. Kindergarten of the American Lithuanian Montessori Association, Chicago, Ill.
8. Lithuanian Montessori Kindergarten Zidinélis, Chicago, Ill.

St. Anthony's High School, and the parish elementary schools are bilingual: Lithuanian classes are conducted in Lithuanian, and all other classes—in English. In St. Anthony's High School Lithuanian has been taught 5 hours a week in 4 groups, in the elementary schools—half an hour for each grade one through eight 5 times a week. In the kindergartens, the teaching and speaking language is Lithuanian, of course.

Evening school

At the Immaculate Conception Boarding School, Putnam, Conn., the Lithuanian students, attending weekdays Annhurst College and Putnam Academy, have been taught Lithuanian six days a week. This school is monolingual: Lithuanian is being used in both, Lithuanian classes and the boarding school.

Saturday schools

There are three types of these schools: elementary schools, high schools, then schools having both, elementary and high school, curriculum, and one school of higher education with the aim of teacher training/Lithuanian Institute of Education. All Saturday schools are monolingual—conducted in Lithuanian.

a. Elementary schools

1. Darius-Girénas Lithuanian School, Chicago, Ill.
2. Melrose Park Lithuanian School, Melrose Park, Ill.
3. Roseland Lithuanian School, Roseland, Ill.
4. Santa Clara Lithuanian School, Santa Clara, California.
5. St. Casimir's Lithuanian School, Gary, Ind.
6. Grand Rapids Lithuanian School, Grand Rapids, Mich.
7. Kenosha-Racine Lithuanian School, Kenosha, Wisc.
8. Rockford Lithuanian School, Rockford, Ill.
9. Lithuanian School Aušra, Detroit, Ill.
10. K. Donelaitis Lithuanian School, Lanham, Md.
11. King Mindaugas Lithuanian School, Baltimore, Md.
12. Hartford Lithuanian School, Hartford, Conn.
13. New Haven Lithuanian School, New Haven, Conn.
14. Waterbury Lithuanian School, Waterbury, Conn.
15. Brockton Lithuanian School, Brockton, Mass.
16. Worcester Lithuanian School, Worcester, Mass.
17. Maironis Lithuanian School, Brooklyn, N.Y.
18. New Jersey Lithuanian School, Elizabeth, N.J.
19. V. Krėvės Lithuanian School, Philadelphia, Pa.
20. St. Casimir's Lithuanian School, Los Angeles, Calif.

b. Schools with elementary and high school curriculum

1. St. Casimir's Lithuanian School, Cleveland, Ohio.
2. Cicero Lithuanian High School, Cicero, Ill.
3. Detroit Lithuanian Community School, Detroit, Mich.
4. Maironis Lithuanian School, Lemont, Ill.
5. K. Donelaitis Lithuanian School, Chicago, Ill.
6. Rochester Lithuanian School, Rochester, N.Y.
7. Boston Lithuanian School, Boston, Mass.
8. St. Casimir's Lithuanian School, Los Angeles, Calif.

c. High schools

1. Chicago Lithuanian High School, Chicago, Ill.
2. Cicero Lithuanian High School, Cicero, Ill.

d. Teacher training institutions

Lithuanian Institute of Education, Chicago, Ill.

Lithuanian Saturday schools, and Lithuanian classes in regular schools follow the American twelve year school system: in elementary schools, Lithuanian is being taught in grades one through eight, and in high schools—nine through twelve. Some schools are large, with parallel classes, some are small, with some grades vacant. Some schools with elementary and high school curriculum had enough enrollment for all 12 grades, while others had 11, 10 or even 9 grades.

Most of the Lithuanian schools are in the Chicago area; the other ones are in the Eastern states, in Cleveland, Detroit, and in Los Angeles.

Following the curriculum guide, issued by the Lithuanian Board of Education, these subjects are being taught: Religion/history and traditions of Christianity in Lithuania, Lithuanian language and literature, History of Lithuania, Geography of Lithuania, Lithuanian folksongs and folkdances.

Besides the two Montessori kindergartens mentioned above, there are 16 other kindergartens. They are conducted as part of the elementary schools. The number of kindergartens is growing, while the enrollment of higher grades shows a decreasing tendency.

Special schools

1. Lutheran Lithuanian Sunday School Tėviskė, Chicago, Ill.
2. Lithuanian School Ateitis, Chicago, Ill.
3. Providence Lithuanian School, Providence, N.J.
4. K. Donelaitis Lithuanian School, New Carrollton, Md.

In the Lutheran Sunday school, religious instruction is given and songs are taught in Lithuanian language.

The last three schools are established for the children of the older Lithuanian generations. The knowledge of these children is very limited, if any, and their instruction is different, of course.

Pupils

Altogether, 3217 pupils and students have attended this year the 44 Lithuanian schools. Most of the school children come from homes of those Lithuanians who came to the USA after the World War II. Since Lithuanian is home language, the children come usually to school with a rather good knowledge of Lithuanian. On the other hand, after Lithuanians have lived in this country longer than twenty years, the knowledge of Lithuanian shows year by year a declining tendency.

Teachers

In the school year 1968/69, 325 teachers were teaching, 113 men and 212 women. Most of the teachers have received their university or teachers' college education in Lithuania before or during the World War II. The others have graduated from the American universities or colleges. Some have graduated from the Lithuanian Institute of Education in Chicago. In some cases, even parents without teachers' training are being used as teaching aids. We are concerned with the problem of teacher shortage.

Teaching materials

Elementary School

1. A. Rinkūnas, Kregždutė I. 4th ed. Toronto, Canada, 1963.
2. Ig. Malėnas, Elementorius. 1961.
3. G. Cesienė. Rūtėlė./Lith. Reader II/.Chicago, 1968.
4. J. Piacas, Tėviškės sodyba/Lith. Reader III/.Chicago, 1966.
5. A. Rinkūnas, Kregždutė II/Lith. Reader IV/.Toronto, 1956.
6. S. Jonynienė, Lietuvos laukai/Lith. Reader V/.Chicago, 1959.
7. A. Šešplaukis, Ten kur Nemunas banguoja/Lith. Reader VI/.Chicago, 1962.
8. S. Jonynienė, Tėvu šalis /Lith. Reader VII/.Chicago. 1964.
9. J. Plačas, Gintaras /Lith. Reader VIII/.Chicago, 1961.
10. E. Ruzgienė, Lithuanian Workbook I, Chicago, 1966.
11. G. Cesienė, Lithuanian Workbook II, 2d ed. Chicago, 1968.
12. E. Narutienė, Lithuanian Workbook III, 2d ed. Chicago, 1968.
13. S. Jonvniene, Lithuanian Workbook IV, 2d ed. Chicago, 1968.
14. Z. Grybinas, Lithuanian Workbook V, 2d ed. Chicago, 1969.
15. J. Plačas, Lithuanian Workbook VI, Chicago, 1966.
16. J. Kreivėnas, Lithuanian Workbook VII, Chicago, 1966.
17. S. Sližys, Lithuanian Workbook VIII, Chicago, 1966.

High school

1. A. Šešplaukis, Lietuvių kalbos gramatika /Lithuanian grammar/, 3rd ed. Chicago, 1958.
2. J. Ambraška & J. Žiugžda, Lietuvių kalbos gramatika /Lith. grammar/, 6th ed. Chicago, 1966.

3. L. Dambriūnas, *Lietuvių kalbos sintaksė /Lithuanian syntax/*, 2d ed. Chicago, 1956.
4. D. Velička, *Lietuvių literatūra I/Lith. literature/*, Chicago, 1961.
5. D. Velička, *Lietuvių literatūra II/Lith. literature II/*, Chicago, 1961.
6. J. Masilionis, *Lietuvių literatūra III /Lith. literature III/*, Chicago 1959.
7. J. Masilionis, *Lietuvių literatūra IV /Lith. literature IV/*, Chicago, 1960.
8. V. Daugirdaitė Sruogienė, *Lietuvos istorija /History of Lithuania/*, Chicago, 1966.
9. V. Liulevičius, *Lietuvos istorija /History of Lithuania/*, Chicago, 1966.
10. Z. Ašoklis, *Lietuvos geografijos vadovėlis /Geography of Lithuania/*, Chicago, 1968.
11. Pr. Skardžius, *Lietuvių kalbos kirčiavimas /Accentuation of Lithuanian Language/*, Chicago, 1968.
12. L. Dambriūnas, A. Klimas, W. R. Schmalstieg, *Introduction to Modern Lithuanian*, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1966. /This textbook is written for those who don't speak Lithuanian. Correlated tapes are available/.
13. V. Jakubėnas, *Liaudies dainos /Lith. folksongs/*, 2 books, Chicago.
14. Mūsų šokiai /Lith. folkdances/, Chicago.
15. *Lithuanian folkdances /record, stereo & mono/*, Chicago.
16. D. Velička, P. Jonikas, R. Sakadolskis, *Lithuanian Sound System /record/*, Chicago, 1967.
17. J. Andrius, *Lietuvos žemėlapis /Map of Lithuania/*, Boston, 1956.
18. D. Velička, *Lietuvių kalbos pratimai V /Lithuanian workbook V/*, 3 books, Chicago, 1965.
19. Ig. Serapinas, *Lietuvių kalbos pratimai VI /Lith. workbook VI/*, 3 books, Chicago, 1965.
20. I. Masilionis, *Lietuvių kalbos pratimai VII /Lith. workbook VII/*, Chicago, 1965.
21. J. Masilionis, *Lietuvių kalbos pratimai VIII /Lith. workbook VIII/*, 2 books, Chicago, 1965.
22. Pr. Skardžius, St. Barzdukas, J. M. Laurinaitis, *Lietuvių kalbos vadovas /A Guide to Standard Lithuanian*, Bielefeld, Germany, 1950.
23. J. Balčikonis, K. Korsakas, J. Kabelka, J. Kruopas, A. Lyberis, K. Ulvydsas, *Babartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas /Lithuanian Dictionary/*, 2d ed. Chicago, 1962.

Financial Support

In this country, Lithuanian schools were founded under joint efforts of parents, Lithuanian parishes, convents, and monasteries/St. Casimir, St. Francis, Immaculate Conception, and Jesuits/, and Lithuanian American Community.

St. Anthony's High School was founded in 1956 and conducted by the Lithuanian Franciscans. Due to financial difficulties, it has been closed at the end of this school year. The two Montessori kindergartens in Chicago have been founded and are being managed by Lithuanian Montessori Associations. Lithuanian classes in the parish elementary schools have been organized by the interested parents with the consent and support of the pastors. The parents are responsible of having teachers to conduct Lithuanian classes. Sometimes they give donations to support the school.

The Saturday schools, usually founded by the parents, have classes mostly in the parish schools. The parents get the classrooms either free or donate from \$30 to \$90 a month to cover a part of the maintenance costs. Some Saturday schools have classes in the public schools. In two cities /New Haven, Conn., and Santa Monica, Calif./ the classrooms are free, in other cities the parents have to pay the maintenance costs, e.g., in Detroit, Ohio,—\$2700 a year, in Chicago, Ill.—\$3200—\$4125 a year.

In some schools, the teachers work without pay. In others they are paid from \$1.— to \$3.— an hour, in most cases \$10.— for Saturday's 4 hours work, usually from 9 A.M. to 1 P.M.

The tuition, established by the parents committees, is also different: in some places it is higher, in other places—lower. In some small schools, where the classrooms are free and the teachers work without pay, there is also no tuition. As an average, where a parish school is available, the tuition would be likely that in St. Casimir's Saturday School in Cleveland, Ohio: \$30.— a year for one child, \$45.— for two children of the same family, and \$55.— for three or more children of the same family. Where parish school is not available and public school is being used, the tuition rises due to higher expenses: \$45.—a year for one child, \$60.— for two children of the same family, and \$70.— for three

or more/Darius-Girenas Lithuanian Saturday School in Chicago/; or: \$60.— for one child, \$90.— for two, and \$105.— for three /Detroit, Ohio/. Then the textbooks and other expenses. And then taking the children every Saturday to and from school, sometimes from distances of 20, 30 or even 50 miles. This is done for up to 12 years, if there is one child in the family, and for many more years, if there are more children of different ages. It is not an easy task for the parents. It seems that such work and efforts deserve a broader attention and support.

J. KAVALIUNAS, *President.*

THE ESTONIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE IN THE UNITED STATES,
New York, N.Y., April 4, 1970.

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education,
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PUCINSKI: May I convey to you our warm endorsement of H.R. 14910, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill, now before the House Committee.

As Chairman of the Heritage and Culture division of the Estonian National Committee, I fully know the importance of the multiethnic nature of the American population. It must be preserved, and made available to all institutes of learning, beginning with elementary school level. The Ethnic Heritage studies Centers will contribute immensely toward better understanding between minority and ethnic groups by making available information which was hard to find before.

Hope that H.R. 14910 will be put to good use, and soon!

Sincerely,

ILMAR PLEER, *Vice President.*

NATIONAL SLOVAK SOCIETY,
Pittsburgh, Pa., February 2, 1970.

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PUCINSKI: Thank you for your letter of January 17, 1970 and the enclosed copy of the bill H.R. 14910.

I congratulate you on the preparation of this excellent Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill. I most heartily agree with the laudable purposes and the need of this bill.

The development of curriculum materials on various ethnic groups for use in elementary and secondary schools and the training of teachers in the use of such material would undoubtedly prove of inestimable value.

I assure you that your efforts in that regard would have the support and cooperation of every ethnic group fraternal organization in the country.

Very truly yours,

JOHN H. PANKUCH, *President.*

PORTUGUESE CONTINENTAL UNION,
Boston, Mass., February 10, 1970.

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, Committee on Education and Labor, General Subcommittee on Education,
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The Portuguese Continental Union of the U.S.A. (a fraternal organization) with a membership of over 10,000 is very interested in the passage of Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill H.R. 14910.

To provide a program to improve the opportunity of Students in elementary and secondary schools to study cultural heritages of the major ethnic groups in the nation and gain greater appreciation of the multiethnic nature of the American population.

Also, with Sections 902, 903 (1) (2) (3), Section 904 (1) (2) (3) and Section 905.

Sincerely,

ANTONIO J. PEREIRA, *President.*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
Harrisburg, March 11, 1970.

Congressman ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, Committee on Education and Labor, General Subcommittee on Education,
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PUCINSKI: After receiving a letter from the Historical Commission, Doctor Stevens has written to me about your inquiring about one of the Bills I have sponsored in reference to the Ethnic Groups in Pennsylvania. I thought I would send you a copy of the Bill that has been intact since 1966. As you know, I am one of the Representatives that sponsors most of the legislation for the Polish people in the area that I am representing. As the Polish Representative I have just had a Bill passed to have a Highway that is to be built named after General Casmier Powski. I was asked by Doctor Stevens which is head of the Historical Commission to have a Resolution put in the House here and that I would send you a copy of the Resolution.

There is very much I have helped to have passed in behalf of the Polish people. I believe I am the only one in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania that is trying to see that the Polish people are recognized in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

I hope to hear from your Senator in reference to my letter and what I am trying to do for my constituents which are about 75% Polish and as you know I am up for election this year again. Maybe in the future I would like to invite you to Philadelphia to help me out at one of my Campaign dinners.

Thank you again for your interest in my Bill.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN PEZAK.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF PENNSYLVANIA

HOUSE RESOLUTION NO. 190 (SESSION OF 1970)

Introduced by Messrs. Pezak, Sherman, Musto, Rybak, Sullivan, Meholchick, Tayoun, R. K. Hamilton, Luty and Frank, March 2, 1970—Referred to Committee on Rules, March 2, 1970.

In the House of Representatives, March 2, 1970

H.R. 14910 in Congress, known as the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill, has as its purpose, the providing of a program to improve the opportunity of students in elementary and secondary schools to study cultural heritages of the major ethnic groups in the Nation and gain greater appreciation of the multi-ethnic culture of the American population; therefore be it

Resolved (the Senate concurring), That the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania memorialize the Congress of the United States to support and enact into legislation H.R. 14910; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the presiding officers of each house of the Congress of the United States and to each Senator and Representative from Pennsylvania in the Congress of the United States.

TEXAS EDUCATION AGENCY,
Austin, Tex., April 7, 1970.

Representative ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR HONORABLE PUCINSKI: Your support of a bill which would establish study centers to develop ethnic curriculum materials for elementary and secondary schools is commendable. There is a dire need for such materials relative to the Mexican, Negro, Czech, and German elements in Texas.

May I personally encourage you to continue your efforts and wish you success with your endeavors.

If I may be of any assistance, either directly or indirectly, in your efforts, please feel free to call upon me.

Sincerely,

LEROF F. PSENCIK,
Social Studies Consultant, Division of Program Development.

UKRAINIAN INSTITUTE OF AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N.Y., February 26, 1970.

HON. ROMAN PUCINSKI,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: We would appreciate it very much if you would kindly send us a copy of Bill H.R. 14910, which was introduced to Congress by you for the purpose of establishing and operating a number of centers for ethnic heritage studies.

The Ukrainian Institute of America is such a center. It provides Ukrainian Language classes which enable children and adults of Ukrainian background to learn about their cultural heritage.

We would heartily sponsor your bill and would like all the information you have on this matter.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

JULIAN REVAY,
Administrative Director.

CARPATHIAN RESEARCH CENTER,
New York, N.Y., April 6, 1970.

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Please accept our sincere congratulations for your efforts to establish Centers for Ethnic Heritage Studies through legislation by the Congress.

It is our pleasure to express our whole-hearted support for your Bill H.R. 14910 and thank you for your historical devotion to the passage of this important legislation.

Your Bill H.R. 14910 should be enacted for the highest interest of the U.S. policy and we are sure that this legislation will bring a great satisfaction not only for Americans with ethnic origin but for all patriotic citizens of the U.S.A.

We are recommending the enactment of the Bill H.R. 14910 because the establishments and operation of Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers will bring deeper understanding of the contributions to a more harmonious, patriotic and committed population. It will put the United States in first place in the world where persons of various ethnic origin will have occasion, not only privately but through the authorized Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers, to receive education dealing with the history and culture of the group with which it is concerned and its contribution to the American heritage.

Amending the Education Act of 1965 by adding "Title IX—Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers" to provide a special program to improve the opportunity of students and adults to study their cultural heritages will greatly help to gain patriotic appreciation of the multi-ethnic nature of America.

Dear Congressman, we thank you and wish to assure you that the enactment of this Bill will be the greatest success of your dedicated life in the politics of this nation.

We vote to support this Bill.

Sincerely yours,

JULIAN REVAY,
Chairman.

AUGUSTIN STEFAN,
Vice Chairman.

DR. WASYL WERESH,
Secretary.

CENTER FOR MIGRATION STUDIES,
Brooklyn, N.Y., February 5, 1970.

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PUCINSKI: Congratulations on the initiative you have taken in H.R. 14910 toward the organization of Ethnic Heritage Studies Center. Our Center for Migration Studies, an interdisciplinary effort of twelve Brooklyn College departments, was organized in 1965 with aims quite similar to those you have so well expressed. I enclose a brochure explaining its purposes and activities.

Our colleagues at Brooklyn College found, both in their numerous contacts with elementary and secondary school teachers and with our own students, far too much ignorance of ethnic backgrounds. Unfortunately, this was often related to reluctance to be identified as a "foreigner." Many models for child behavior (from stage and screen, for example) have helped set a pattern: viz, Benny Kubelsky, Mimi Weisenfreund, Dino Crecetti, and Anthony Benedetto became Jack Benny, Paul Muni, Dean Martin and Tony Bennett. They supplied only a few examples of one type of pressure to "keep up with the Joneses" so far as names are concerned.

Sadder, because perpetrated on defenseless children, is the tradition of teachers bestowing "American" names on Giovanni, Guillermo or Branca. Perhaps equally irritating is the widespread current situation of teachers being unable properly to pronounce such Spanish names as Angel and Jesus. This often exposes the child with a name widely used in his own culture to ridicule by his new playmates. Of course, it is not quite so ridiculous as the teacher who insisted that a Jewish pupil pronounce his "Christian name" more clearly!

These are only a few, and sometimes only trifling, examples of the teacher's lack of understanding of the child's cultural background. If they stood alone, they might be viewed as only irritating but transitory incidents. Too often, since the minority group is usually the "low man on the totem pole," they seem to the pupil and his parents to fit into a pattern of either neglect or abuse which makes life more difficult.

The solution to these and to many related problems is to be found, as your bill indicates, in a two-pronged approach. First, teachers must be trained (and I would hope that others in civic life would benefit also) in the understanding and appreciation of the contributions made by the wide variety of ethnic, national, racial, and religious groups in the building of our "unity in diversity" and, second, the children and others of the various ethnic groups must be aided toward that same understanding and appreciation within the context of our democracy.

I am sending you separately copies of our Center brochure and our 1967 Annual Report for each member of the General Subcommittee on Education. You will also receive copies of the proceedings of two previous Center conferences, an announcement of next month's conference, and (an attempt of my own to contribute toward the understanding of our citizens from Puerto Rico and the refugee newcomers from Cuba). You will notice from the publisher's folder enclosed that it is part of a series dealing with four major peoples in the United States.

My colleague, Dr. William S. Bernard, I am certain, would want to join me in responding to your letter but he is now in Australia studying questions of immigration and intergroup relations in that country. Please let us know if there is anything we can do to help in your most praiseworthy efforts.

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE SENIOR, Director.

LONDON, ENGLAND, January 29, 1970.

Congressman ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Committee on Education and Labor, General Subcommittee on Education, U.S.
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PUCINSKI: I believe that H.R. 14910, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Bill, would serve a highly useful purpose. As the author of *The American Irish*, I have long been interested in the history of American ethnic groups. These materials are not readily available for scholars or for the writers of textbooks. Often the most interesting and significant information is hard to obtain because

it exists in the local and state records of churches, fraternal organizations, mutual aid societies and other private organizations. Too much attention has been paid to peripheral material such as family geneology, and not nearly enough to description and analyses of the serious accomplishments and difficulties of various ethnic groups.

Because not enough research has been done, and good secondary histories and sociological studies are often not available, textbook writers often repeat stereotype descriptions of ethnic groups or pass over this subject in silence.

I think the proposed legislation would enrich the education of the nation's schoolchildren and would help foster understanding and mutual respect.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM V. SHANNON.

NEW JERSEY COUNCIL OF ESTONIAN, LATVIAN,
AND LITHUANIAN AMERICANS,
Lakewood, N.J., March 17, 1970.

Hon. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PUCINSKI: Our organization, representing the Baltic-American community of New Jersey, wholeheartedly supports your bill—H.R. 14910 calling for the establishment of centers for ethnic heritage studies. We firmly believe that awareness and respect for the ethnic cultural heritage will be a positive contribution to the American society.

If possible, please forward us several copies of H.R. 14910. Thank you.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

JUHAN SIMONSON, Secretary.

ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS IN AMERICA, INC.
Indianapolis, Ind., March 11, 1970.

Mr. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education,
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE PUCINSKI: I wholeheartedly endorse H.R. 14910. Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Bill. This bill is timely and of value to the United States. It can bring a public awareness of the contributions of all ethnic groups in America.

We all have an obligation to ourselves and our children to have a clear understanding of our own ethnic background and an equal obligation to try to learn and understand the ethnic culture of our neighbors.

I plan to propose at our National Convention this summer that all of our divisions, have at set intervals, representatives from other ethnic groups. I don't mean one individual as a speaker, rather, a group of ten or more for an evening of listening to the history of their ethnic background.

My son, who was recently discharged from the Army, had suggested to me that we propose a National Ethnic Day, a day in which we honor all groups making up America. My suggestion for such a day would be the Monday preceding St. Patrick's Day—well!! because I'm of Irish descent and at this time of the year, we are all a little bit Irish.

Sincerely

JAMES R. SULLIVAN,
National Secretary.

SONS OF NORWAY,
Minneapolis, Minn., April 2, 1970.

Mr. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education,
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PUCINSKI: Your letter of February 5, 1970, addressed to our President, Mr. Hilmen E. Kjørli, has been referred to me for response, since Mr. Kjørli is on an extended business trip.

The information you sent was reviewed at our Board of Directors' meeting,

and the feeling is that H.R. 14910 could be a step in the right direction and do much to create pride in citizenship, patriotism, and heritage.

In our own Society, we have experienced great growth. This year we are 75 years old and in the past 5 years we have doubled what was accomplished during the first 70 years, and we believe we will double again in the next five years. Interestingly, we find the youth are joining, because they wish to learn more of their heritage and participate and identify with the democratic and parliamentary process of the fraternity, as much as for any other reason. This, we think, augers well. Our language classes have also grown tremendously, and we have already seen some 3,000 students complete our courses. All of this we are accomplishing on a financial shoe-string. If funds were ever made available for selected organizations who have demonstrated some expertise in this field, we could see much good that would develop.

Fraternally yours,

MAGNE SMEDWIG,
General Manager.

STATEMENT OF FRANCES SUSSNA, DIRECTOR, MULTI-CULTURE INSTITUTE, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

My name is Frances Sussna. I am Director of the Multi-Culture Institute in San Francisco. Our Institute has been engaged in an experiment, funded by the Ford Foundation, designed to help children react to their racial and ethnic backgrounds in ways which will enrich, rather than endanger, the entire American scene.

It is terribly important that each child have a positive sense of the overriding humanity that unites all people. But I feel it is just as important that each child have a positive, realistic, and a loving sense of his own ethnic and cultural origins.

Those of us who have worked with the Multi-Culture Project and many additional people who have seen what it has meant for our little group of 130 children were truly thrilled to learn of the proposed Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act. We are convinced that if enacted and carried through as envisioned, it can make a real difference in the life of every child it reaches.

BACKGROUND

In the past, educational institutions have often assumed that the most useful way in which to encourage "Americanism" is to ignore racial and ethnic distinctions, submerging them in an undifferentiated general curriculum.

There is an implication that the American ideal required us to strive to be "more American" by losing anything which distinguishes us from a nondescript fictional prototype. This concept is disparaging and detrimental to Americans who do have names, family backgrounds, group associations, and other characteristics of real people.

Since a major key to every individual's behavior is his *self-image*, society cannot afford to ignore an aspect of that image which may be of great importance in the child's mind.

Whether we like it or not, every child defines himself partially in relation to his racial or ethnic group and also defines that group in relation to the *composite American scene*. Without public involvement, that definition, like sex knowledge, will continue to be acquired on the streets, and may be inaccurate and unwholesome.

Although we cannot prevent any child from exploring his identity, we can and usually do deprive him of tools for exploring it positively and realistically. This unrealistic approach has deepened feelings of alienation and produced youngsters who have deficient understandings of themselves and others.

A child *knows* if he is different in the national origin of his parents, their religious affiliation, or the color of their skin. If he is taught, explicitly or implicitly, that the less said about this the better, the effects will be confusion, low self-esteem, and bitterness for the "different" children, and a false sense of superiority for the other children.

Just as the community endeavors to provide important affective and cognitive learnings relevant to the individual's identity as an "American" a "Californian," a "San Franciscan," the Multi-Culture Institute is providing similar learnings for other important aspects of his identity, and by so doing, legitimatizes these identities in the minds of all.

It has too often been assumed that proximity of different groups to one another will automatically result in intergroup understanding. Very often, it does not.

At Present, children can and do go through 12 or more years of typical schooling (whether in segregated or integrated classes) and come out totally unlearned in *intergroup relations*—in either information or attitudes.

These learnings cannot be left to chance. They require intensive teaching; yet those in our schools who want to provide this teaching generally have neither training nor resources to call on. In fact, they must *deviate* from the prescribed program in order to do so.

Little has been done to examine means of developing positive attitudes toward self and toward other groups, but much can be done.

Desegregation alone is insufficient to prevent the racial and ethnic distinctions from being used as barriers against intellectual and social communication.

The Multi-Culture Program intentionally separates children at certain periods of time, in order to allow them adequate time to talk among themselves, to learn about themselves, and to examine their relationship to others.

Shocking as this may be to some, it is precisely what many of the older children are doing on their *own* initiative in ever-increasing numbers throughout the country. The tragedy is that they are doing it with little or no involvement of the schools, and thus without the information and mature thinking that well-prepared teachers could bring to the groups.

Efforts to end school segregation are meeting with increasing success. But if we end our efforts here, will we have achieved a real integration? The children are segregated on the very buses that carry them to their "integrated" schools. And these children, who have not learned to place a positive value on either their own "differentness" or that of others, maintain a most effective segregation *within* the school building, *within* the classrooms where we have placed them in supposed proximity.

Middle-class parents watch with great concern to see if school standards will suffer from the influx of ghetto children. We have promised that they will not. But what will happen when these "different" children bring their feelings of shame, alienation, futility, and rootlessness with them to the shiny school building? Can integration make good its promise without major changes not only in composition, but also in the orientation of school?

The Multi-Culture Program is a considerable departure from present practice. Yet, the results we are getting from present practice would indicate that nothing short of a considerable departure will do.

There is no American child whose family background has not had the enrichment of more than one culture. We believe that every child would benefit from exploration of the major elements of his background. It has been our hope that our model program would encourage educators throughout the country to devise means of providing such opportunities for all children.

THE PROGRAM

Multi-Culture Institute now has 130 participating children of 3 through 8 years of age. The program is divided into two levels:

1. nursery and kindergarten;
2. first through third grade.

HALF-DAY CLASSES

The younger children have classes from 8:30 until 12:00 and day care is provided for those needing it. The Program includes all school activities important for children of these ages, e.g. those concerned with orientation to school, reading and math readiness, listening skills and habits, oral language skills, geography and weather concepts, arts and crafts, American holidays, health and safety, physical coordination activities, music, dance and drama.

Each day the younger children have some learning experiences related to one of the four principle ethnic cultures studied at the school. An ethnic teacher comes to the class bringing to it language, foods, songs, games, folklore and other various cultural elements. The concepts taught are those listed in "Multi-Culture Institute Concepts," which, I will submit with your permission. The general studies teachers build on these activities at other times during the week.

FULL DAY CLASSES

The older children have classes from 8:30 to 12:00 and from 1:00 through 3:00 with a one-hour lunch period. Some of them also remain beyond that time for extended day care.

Their school day is divided as follows:

1. Integrated classes for a full program of general studies (e.g. English, arithmetic)—(8:30 to 12:00); and
2. separated classes for each ethnic group to have an extensive and intensive educational experience related to that group—(1:00 to 3:00).

The ethnic groups are:

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Afro-American | 3. Jewish-American and |
| 2. Chinese-American | 4. Latin-American. |

POLYETHNIC

There is also a fifth polyethnic group which is made up of children whose backgrounds are Filipino, Welsh, Canadian, German, French, Scottish, Irish, English and Native-American. The polyethnic class has units on the contributions of various ethnic groups to American life. Its purpose is:

1. to demonstrate the difference in the two approaches; and
2. to provide a model for public school districts which would use the separated approach for only a portion of their children.

SHARING ACTIVITIES

There are periodic combined sessions in which each group *teaches* the others about its own group.

Every Friday afternoon one of the ethnic classes is host to all of the other classes for approximately 30 minutes. The children, led by the host group share ethnic songs, dances and folklore.

AFTERNOON PROGRAM

The program for ethnic instruction revolves around special days in the calendar of each ethnic group. For each special day, there are weeks of preparation in the form of related stories, songs, improvised plays and arts and crafts activities, leading to a culmination. Each such culminating event is attended by all of the older children. The hosts for the program have the opportunity to present with pride their event, while the other children gain an experience in awareness and appreciation of other cultures.

LANGUAGE

The languages taught are Spanish, Hebrew, Swahili and Mandarin, with some Cantonese also. Language lessons are built on the unit themes, with songs, poems, taped conversations, arts and crafts, music, art, drama and story-writing. These are done ostensibly in preparation for the culmination, although primarily for the children's learning and enjoyment.

HOLIDAYS

Each holiday has its own special kind of excitement, involvement and edification. As in other teaching, the holiday units are not carried beyond the interest of the children. However, a skillful teacher can keep the children's interest in such a unit alive for many weeks. The goal is to have every unit culminate with a feeling of achievement and satisfaction, but *before* the children have "had their fill."

The teacher reminds the children that they can look forward to the holiday coming again next year, encourages their anticipation of the pleasures of acquainting the other children and teachers with their holiday, and stimulates their eagerness to begin the new unit which will follow the culmination.

PLANNING CULMINATIONS

The teachers encourage a proprietary feeling about the event, but simultaneously instill a generous desire to let the others in on sharing "our" event.

The presentations and exhibitions are chosen by the children as those *they* feel will best convey the message and the flavor to the other children. Ideas are elicited *from* them, rather than fed *into* them. The plays are not memorized, but rather are their enactment of relevant stories they have invented or heard about.

Both in the separated and in the integrated sessions, the children are guided in the development of intergroup relations skills.

"GUEST" SKILLS

Before the children are taken to see the culmination of other groups, teachers attempt to stimulate their curiosity and respect, and explain the etiquette of the situation. They try to convey the feeling that it is a privilege to be invited to share someone else's ethnic experiences, rather than just *studying* about them.

UNIVERSALITY

We also attempt to show the relevance of the message of each group to all groups. The Jewish Passover celebration coincided with the culmination of the Black class's unit on "Freedom". We felt that each enhanced the other significantly.

Children learn that ethnic groups need not be measured in terms of "better or worse", but that *every* ethnic group is unique, special and important just as *every* individual is unique, special and important.

NO RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

Although religious traditions are mentioned as they relate to the cultures, there is no theological instruction. This is left to the home and church or synagogue.

CONCLUSION

The reality of what is happening to our 130 children has greatly heightened our desire to see the approach disseminated as widely as possible.

At the same time, it is becoming increasingly obvious from events around the country that desegregation without such a component may fail to accomplish its intended purpose.

SOME CONCEPTS OF A MULTI-CULTURE CURRICULUM

A.

1. The United States is a "nation of immigrants."
2. We have all benefitted from the rich diversity of our population.
3. "Different" does not in itself imply "better" or "worse."
4. There is an overriding "humanity" which unites all mankind regardless of differences.
5. People of all groups have the same basic physical needs (e.g. food, shelter) and the same basic emotional and spiritual needs (e.g. freedom, security, dignity, achievement).
6. The concepts of "collective guilt" and "collective punishment" have wrought much harm throughout history and still pose dangers.
7. Every individual should be judged on his individual merits, rather than be prejudged as a member of "natural" groups (i.e. various groups and associations he was born into).
8. It is important to be able to judge which are situations in which a person's ethnic background is legitimately a fact to be considered, e.g., hiring waiters for restaurants with French or Japanese decor.

B.

1. a. Within the history of every group we can find some examples which conform to our present standards of ethnics and some which do not, e.g., where men of one group have benefitted or oppressed other men.
- b. Every ethnic group has benefitted from contributions of persons who are not members of that group.
2. a. People of each group have overcome great obstacles.

3. a. Each group has an evolving identity.
- b. Every individual in that group has some influence on the evolving group identity.
- c. Group histories, like personal histories, can always be built upon for better tomorrows.

C.

1. *The feelings and sensitivities of others are to be respected even if not always understood.*
2. A just person takes as much care to avoid wounding another's feelings as to avoid wounding another's body.
3. The ability to imagine yourself "in someone else's place" is an important skill, to be developed through role playing and other techniques.
4. It is good manners to comment favorably to a person on achievements of any group of which he is a member, although we would not blame him for what we may consider that group's "failings."
5. There are many ways to contribute to society, although different communities at different times have rewarded certain roles over others.
6. There are valuable learnings to be gained from each group.
7. Facts that may not be complimentary to a particular group need not be ignored.
 - a. However, they should be viewed in the context of all related facts rather than in isolation.
 - b. They should not be used in such a way as to hurt the feelings of anyone, or to deny him his rights.

D.

1. *Some degree of ethnocentrism continues to be found in all groups.*
2. Ethnocentrism has both positive and negative aspects.
3. A group's freedom to act for its own benefit, like an individual's freedom, ends at the point where somebody else's nose begins.

E.

1. Building positive relations among individuals and groups—whether similar or different—is a constant challenge.
 - a. Intergroup—and other human-relations have posed challenges in every country and at every time.
2. Society is still groping for adequate ways of meeting these challenges. Each individual has the opportunity to make a contribution in this area.
3. Critical and creative thinking can and has solved problems that seemed insoluble.
4. Awareness of economic, social, political, and other factors (both historical and current) is necessary in order to understand intergroup hostilities and violence.
5. The rapidly growing body of knowledge of the behavioral sciences also provided insights useful for human relations problems.

F.

1. *Not only people we may think of as being malicious, but also our own friends, families, and teachers—and we ourselves—have a legacy of prejudice (and often hostilities within ourselves) to overcome.*
2. It is important to understand this legacy and to recognize its manifestations, the better to deal with them.

G.

1. *Every individual encounters people who have such hostilities and may be a victim of them in one way or another.*
2. This can and does go in any direction. The sensitive white person, for example, may be hurt by the non-white who says that "all whites are basically lacking in compassion."
3. Racism is just as wrong, though perhaps more understandable, when it comes from persons who have been its victims.
4. We must learn how to deal with these incidents on an individual basis, to protect ourselves from pain and/or harm, and if possible, to enlighten the hostile person.
5. Society must learn how to deal with them on a community basis.

H.

1. *Hurting others in order to advance* is neither necessary nor desirable.
2. On the contrary, development of compassion and concern for others enhances personal growth.
3. Each individual is special and important and may have ideas and talents to contribute. This includes children, even though it is possible that some adults may fail to recognize this.
4. Respectful behavior toward our teachers is necessary and desirable. This does not mean that we should believe or adopt the attitudes of teachers—or anyone else—who may refuse to recognize us or others as important and worthwhile individuals.

I.

1. *Self-respect and self-love* are not "selfish" in a negative sense, but normal and healthy. We should be able to maintain this respect and love, while squarely facing and trying to correct shortcomings.
2. Increasing self-knowledge and self-understanding should be life-long goals.

J.

1. *Respect for the groups we belong to* is also desirable and will help toward another important goal: understanding and respect for other groups and the relation of their members to them.
2. The history and culture of our ethnic forefathers have contributed to making us the kinds of people we are.
3. Language learning contributes to the understanding of a group and gives the individual the ability to communicate with people who use that language on a special level.
4. There is beauty in tradition.
5. Important ideas can be derived from the holidays, rituals, and proverbs of each group.
6. The myths and legends of each group have a value in that they are enjoyable for study and give insights into the group, whether or not we choose to "follow" or believe them.
7. The individual who has knowledge of and familiarity with many aspects of his group is in a position to choose wisely those group traditions appropriate to his own life.
8. It is possible to be a valuable member of the general society while being a knowledgeable and active member of one's own group.
9. Older people in many families (in some cases including our own parents) may lack the advantages of education we have. This is not uncommon, and does not reflect upon other qualities they may have.
 - a. A value common to all groups is respectful behavior toward our elders.
1. *Knowledgeable communication among groups* is very important and increasingly so.
2. Intellectual and social relationships across group lines are healthy and desirable.
3. The individual can choose to adapt to the practices of his own life those cultural traditions and expressions of his group he considers most appropriate for himself and can also adopt cultural expressions of other groups that may suit his personality and values.
4. Those who attempt to isolate themselves from members of other groups will find this increasingly difficult in contemporary society.
- a. Those who succeed will be depriving themselves of certain kinds of personal growth.

Many of these concepts can and should be used by the teacher to inspire every child with the knowledge that he affects both the character and destiny of each group to which he belongs and of society at large: that he cannot choose whether or not to affect them but only how he affects them; and that this is true to some extent even while he is a child.

The teacher should seek to:

1. take account of current developments in educational research and adapt this information to school practices;
2. stimulate a genuine interest in an enjoyment of learning, minimizing artificial rewards and punishments;
3. sharpen ability to think creatively and objectively;

4. provide for *individual* differences and encourage individual expression and development, and
5. further all aspects of the child's development as both a happy and socially responsible *person*, and to impart to the children:
 1. enjoyable experiences with the group identification; a "good feeling" about being part of that group;
 2. a realistic grasp of the group's common past and present, and its potential for contributing to society as a whole;
 3. development of useful and creative tools for further "self-definition" and exploration of their past.

STATEMENT OF Z. MICHAEL SZAZ, PH.D., SECRETARY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
AMERICAN HUNGARIAN FEDERATION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

One of our finest historians, Oscar Handlin stated that "Once I thought to write a history of the immigrant in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants were American history."

This quote may serve as the best justification of the goals and methods of H.R. 14910 which I have the pleasure of supporting in the name of the American Hungarian Federation. Our 63-year old organization is composed of most of the American Hungarian churches, fraternal insurance companies and many of the social, cultural and youth organizations of Americans of Hungarian descent. I was also instructed to support it in the name of other American Hungarian national organizations not officially affiliated with the American Hungarian Federation, like the United States Chapter of the World Federation of Hungarian Freedomfighters, the Federation of Free Hungarian Jurists, the Transylvanian Committee and others who met at the meeting of the Coordinating Committee on January 25, 1970. The American Hungarian Federation and the above-named organizations represent close to 90 per cent of all Americans of Hungarian descent who belong to some church or other organizations of American Hungarian character.

Americans of Hungarian descent number about 700,000 according to the 1960 census. In two states their number exceeds 100,000 (New York: 142,834 and Ohio 100,786) in another two states they approximate the 100,000 line (Pennsylvania 83,417, New Jersey, 82,017). In Middlesex County, New Jersey the 1960 census also showed 13.8 percent of the population to be of Hungarian stock.

The story of the American Hungarian immigrant is not a separate story but a thread woven intricately into an American pattern. From the beginning, whether Kossuth hussars or factory workers, freedomfighters or army heroes, scientists, musicians or scholars, they all have given their particular talents to build a new land which has also become their land.

HUNGARIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN SOCIETY

Contributions of Hungarians to American culture and history were manifold, for exceeding the percentage of their numbers to the population as a whole. American Hungarians were loyal and patriotic citizens from the days of the the Revolutionary War of 1776 (in which Colonel Michael de Kovats led the cavalry charge in the battle of Charleston), to the Hungarian generals of Lincoln's Union army, through the heroes of the two World Wars to the present Vietnam conflict in which Captain Akos Szekely has become the quintessence of the devotion of duty and love for the nation among American Hungarians.

Science and scholarship constitute other landmarks of American Hungarian achievement. By 1962 an incomplete survey listed 1,682 engineers, 1,172 physicians, 484 university and college professors, 428 lawyers, 188 economists, 110 librarians, and these numbers have increased since. Two American Hungarians are holders of the Nobel Prize, and many of the most prominent atomic scientists in the United States have been and still are American Hungarians including Professor Edward Teller and Eugene Wigner, both of them honorary directors of the American Hungarian Federation.

Hungarian contribution to American musical life has also been significant. Today two of the major philharmonic orchestras (Washington and Philadelphia) are conducted by them (Antal Dorati and Eugene Ormandy) as are three more major city orchestras. One of the best known American violin soloist (Joseph Szigeti) is also of Hungarian descent. The above incomplete survey also lists 34 more composers and 30 conductors among American Hungarians.

There is an alleged story that in the 1920's, the American Hungarian movie

producer, Adolph Czukor, had a sign put up in his office: "It is not enough to be Hungarian, you must have talent, too." This reflects the number of American Hungarians involved in creating the Hollywood film industry. Two of the early movie giants, Adolph Czukor and William Fox were of Hungarian origin and even among the stars of recent past and the present we find several American Hungarians like Tony Curtis, Ilona Massey and the Gabor sisters.

The honor list could be continued for many more pages, proving that American Hungarian talent excelled in quality in the course of American cultural history. Their influence on science, scholarship, music and entertainment was substantial and remains so to this day. Yet we should also remember the masses of factory workers and miners who, living often amid squalor and inadequate wages, helped to build Cleveland, Detroit, Buffalo, the New Jersey industrial complexes and Pennsylvania mines, and who, despite deprivation, exploitation and often also derision, remained loyal citizens of their new country.

The paragraphs above sketch only inadequately and incompletely American Hungarian individual achievement in the United States. American Hungarians also developed their own institutions like the two fraternal insurance companies which today comprise about 110,000 members and capital assets of over \$40 million. They also formed their own Catholic, Protestant and Jewish churches and synagogues which, despite the process of waning bilingualism still continue their religious and cultural work. There are several hundred American Hungarian cultural and social clubs and organizations in every major American city and in the northeast and the mid-west and California. Numerically small, but very articulate groups are also playing an active part in American politics and in keeping the facts of Hungarian life in Hungary also under close scrutiny.

If we summarize the accomplishments of these people and associations, we must also discern with sadness that little money or energy has been expended to research and publish about the American Hungarian cultural heritage and the American public has been given even less opportunity to familiarize itself with the contribution of American Hungarians to our culture.

Scholarly works, except for the Kossuth immigration of the 1850's are practically non-existent, and even journalistic works are rare, except for Professor Emil Lengyel's book (*Americans from Hungary*) and some smaller works of late 1960's vintage (Leslie Könnöy, *Hungarians in America* and Rezső and Margit Gracza, *The Hungarians in America*). This situation proves both past neglect and a renewed residual interest.

Despite its inclusion under the National Defense Education Act, the Hungarian language is taught as a regular subject only at six universities (Rutgers, SUNY at Buffalo, Western Reserve, UCLA, Indiana and American University). These statistics compare unfavorably with the teaching of other East Central European languages, and even the extant courses are mostly restricted to language courses, rather than the teaching of literature and culture.

As a result, there is particularly no mention of the American Hungarian even in the existing limited literature on the American immigrant. Professor Wittke's famous text, *We Who Built America* devotes only three of its 521 pages to the American Hungarian. School textbook references on high school and college levels in history, political science and geography often contain erroneous and distorted data about Hungary and its history, especially for the 1867-1945 period.

Only a handful American Hungarian cultural or scholastic foundation are in existence (New Brunswick, New York, Buffalo) and their aggregate assets do not exceed one million dollars, and much of them is in real estate. They cannot, despite their present efforts, even partially fulfill the tasks of Hungarian ethnic research, or even general Hungarian research and publishing, in the United States.

WHY ETHNIC RESEARCH?

In the past, ethnic research in America suffered not only benign neglect, but also was obstructed by the conscious belief on the part of many of the universities, schools and foundations that its promotion would interfere with the national consensus, slow down the Americanization of the immigrant and produce the emergence of unassimilated, culturally pluralistic and politically separatist national minorities. This was to be the negation of the American dream. Less than four weeks ago, the President of the National Education Association, testified before this Subcommittee that

The clannishness of some ethnic groups in some areas has been a detriment to minorities in their communities. We do not believe this is in the interest of the country. Conflicts between ethnic groups have been responsible for some degrading chapters in our Nation's history.

Yet, despite the eloquent presentation, his arguments are no longer valid.

First, the age of large-scale immigration has come to an end with 1924. There are no large blocs of unassimilated immigrants whose presence and attitudes in the 19th century caused the events referred to by the NEA President. Alienation from the mainstream of American culture is not an ethnic group problem in the United States, rather it has become the problem for the youth of the long-established social strata many of whose children are today in the forefront of radical and anarchist movements and proclaim their total alienation from prevailing cultural and socio-economic valuables and patterns.

Second, the American dream in its oversimplified version in which immigrants were supposed to change their language, conform to American customs, Anglicize their names, is not a reality any more, if it ever has been. Cutting off the immigrant from his traditions and socio-economic value system was never successful, but the first-born American generation usually regarded the unwritten rules of acculturation as valid and usually struck out at the "primitive," "alien" and "reactionary" heritage of his parents, yet it was never able to forget them. This generation was given a feeling of rootlessness which was, however, more discernible in the second-generation American though he had no longer had the language problem or the problem of subtle discrimination. He still lacked, however, the social acceptance and the self-pride which older established layers of the population had already possessed.

Yet an individual must possess a positive self-image and a strong sense of his own worth in order to compete in a free society. To find one's identity, one must go outside of the ego by participating in social groups beginning with the family and ending in the broader cultural community. The search for material improvement can only temporarily overshadow the feeling of rootlessness in these generations and the shallowness of cultural life of some of our better-educated middle-class groups can only be understood against this background beyond the surface of their Americanization.

Therefore, teaching the ethnic heritage and/or researching it, does not produce alienation, but only an even more intensive commitment to American ideals, a deeper recognition of the role played by the immigrant generations and their communities in creating our present culture, a consciousness which seems to be vanishing in the children of some of our elite groups.

Third, such presentation in teaching and research cannot create new conflicts between the various ethnic groups. Ignorance is always the mainspring of prejudice and accusations against any particular ethnic group are usually fed by lack of knowledge and understanding. Having a clearer understanding of the role of the various ethnic groups in American history and present-day society will bring them closer together and to the mainstream of American thought and values, assuring them their rightful heritage in a culturally pluralistic American nation.

NEEDS OF AMERICAN HUNGARIAN ETHNIC RESEARCH AND H.R. 14910

In order to promote even the most basic tasks of American Hungarian ethnic research, a concentrated and well-endowed effort is necessary which would unite community initiative, academic personnel and facilities and Federal and academic financial incentives.

The titles in H.R. 14910 use a similar modus operandi. They call for the utilization of research facilities and personnel of the colleges and universities. At the present, there are few, if any, American Hungarian scholars engaged in full-time ethnic research of their community. There are, however, numerous American Hungarian historians, sociologists, linguists, political scientists who, given the financial and academic incentive could produce high-quality work in the field. Without the possibility of funded research or even using their results as bases for college and graduate courses, it is impossible to interest full-time academic personnel in individual ethnic research. It would be relatively easy to expand either the American, Rutgers, or Indiana University programs so that they would embrace the needed sociological, historical and political science courses and also literature and linguistic courses, and to have them promote in-depth studies on the American Hungarian community and the mutual effects of American Hungarian developments and Hungarian traditions and values on the culture, social stratification and political views of the American Hungarian community.

The American Hungarian Federation, and I believe that the other national American Hungarian organizations as well believe that the primary need is for one comprehensive university-affiliated Ethnic Heritage Studies Center for

the American Hungarian community. If personnel or geographic reasons should make this solution infeasible, two centers should be established with a division of labor as far as academic disciplines are concerned. The Federation stands ready to utilize its manpower and personnel resources in helping such centers come into existence, or to help existing programs to be expanded.

As academic research into the American Hungarian community in the fields of history, sociology and linguistics is largely a virgin field, H.R. 14910 points out correctly the need for utilizing the special knowledge of ethnic groups in local communities. For this body of knowledge will be needed for surveying and collating the available source materials. American Hungarian churches, societies and their archives, Hungarian-language newspapers and periodicals, and in some cases even the personal memory of local leadership (oral history projects) must be relied on in order to collect research materials. Journalists, writers, clergymen and local politicians who are already familiar with parts of the material must also be utilized for purposes of preliminary analysis.

While some sociological studies were published and in the field of linguistics Elemer Bako published a booklet on *Hungarian Dialectology in the United States*, there is an immediate need for a systematic survey of available library and archival materials, one of the avowed purposes of the Hungarian Library Association of American consisting of over 100 librarians, a member organization of the American Hungarian Federation.

However, no matter how much voluntary personnel is utilized, the American Hungarian community alone is unable to carry on the financial burden of funded research. It needs federal and state funds for this purpose. In order to gain these, there must be a general need for the material thus produced, otherwise they will remain in the same community which is more or less already familiar with the main features of its own structure and development. One of the strong points of H.R. 14910 remains that it does not seek ethnic research for its own sake, or just to satisfy the demands of ethnic groups. It points out rather the need for distributing the product of research and teaching among the American youth (elementary and secondary schools), thus including even the other ethnic communities and informing the general public, according to Sec. 903 of H.R. 14910.

H.R. 14910 AND THE NEED FOR INTER-ETHNIC RESEARCH

The President of NEA in his testimony was correct about his objection that the bill does not seem to sponsor inter-ethnic research. Reading it for the first time, one gains this impression. Both from the viewpoint of scholastic methodology and in some cases, even of the subject matter under study, ethnic research follow similar or even identical roads of analysis and data collection. Therefore, a need for cross-ethnic, or inter-ethnic research exists. There is also a need to know more about the heritage of the various ethnic groups not only for the general public, but also for the members of other ethnic groups which entertain narrow, and sometimes distorted images of themselves and their ethnic neighbors.

The American Hungarian Federation sincerely believes that some of funds under Sec. 905 should be expended for the establishment of centers for inter-ethnic group research in the United States, or for expanding existing institutions like the one at the University of Chicago. It is with satisfaction that I received the assurance of the subcommittee chairman that nothing in the language of the bill would preclude the use of funds under the bill for such purposes, but perhaps some clarification of the text of the bill in this regard would be helpful.

ETHNIC RESEARCH AND HUNGARY AND THE AMERICAN HUNGARIAN COMMUNITY

The American Hungarian Federation and the other national American Hungarian organizations call the attention of the Subcommittee to the considerable efforts which are made by the Budapest Communist government in order to collate and publish material on the American Hungarian community.

Publication of a history of the American Hungarian community is planned for next year by the Budapest Government's historians in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles and proving "exploitation," "second-class citizenship" and the inequities of the "capitalist" system. If we would like to avoid that this coming work become the most complete presentation on the subject be made by Communist writers and that their work should become the standard work distributed among the American Hungarian community also promoting Communist infiltration among them there is need for competent research in the short-run on the American Hungarian heritage and its publication in accessible style and form.

The reverse side of the coin is that ethnic research could also be used as a proof of our interest in the American ethnic communities toward the countries of their origin. This is especially valid toward East Central Europe as the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe still report in part about the activities of our East Central European ethnic groups. The results of in-depth research would also constitute good cultural diplomacy showing these peoples that we appreciate their culture and have not forgotten their contribution to American life.

In conclusion, let me quote Walt Whitman's definition of America: "Not merely a nation, but a teeming nation of nations" and express our opinion that the passage of H.R. 14910 would substantially contribute to the restoration of an equilibrium in the United States by helping our national consensus be based upon cultural and sociological realities rather than unattainable desiderata.

CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA,
Cicero, Ill., February 6, 1970.

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PUCINSKI: The Czechoslovak National Council of America, at the monthly meeting of the Board, read with interest your letter informing us of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Center Bill, H.R. 14910.

We represent the Czechoslovak ethnic group, as you know, and feel very strongly, as you do, that students should know more about their ethnic background; for they will understand their parents better—which is one way of eliminating the generation gap. It also builds up their self-esteem for the cultural heritage of their parents. If they learn to know real values, they become better citizens. If they understand the great sacrifices of their parents for freedom, they will not take freedom for granted; and if they understand what happened to Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic States, they will not be so naive as to parade with a Vietcong flag and signs of Lenin, Ché and Mao in the procession.

Information about the Bill will be published in our Czech and Czech publications, the American Bulletin, etc.

Wishing you success,

Yours very truly,

VLASTA VRAZ, President.

CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIETY OF AMERICA,
Cicero, Ill., February 4, 1970.

CONGRESSMAN ROMAN PUCINSKI,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The introduction of H.R. 14910 by yourself and your colleagues merits the support of every American. For too long a period, our history books have been lacking information and devoted too little in telling the true story of the contributions and sacrifices our ethnic groups have made in moulding together this great nation of ours.

You can be assured that you have the support of the entire membership of the Czechoslovak Society of America, which incidentally, is America's oldest fraternal benefit society, founded March 4, 1854. We have served our membership for one hundred sixteen years.

The General Subcommittee is to be commended for its bold action in proposing this bill for the purpose of establishing the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers.

Sincerely,

FRANK J. VODRAZKA,
President.

U.S. POPULATION ETHNOHISTORICAL RESEARCH CENTER,
Phoenix, Ariz., January 20, 1970.

HON. ROMAN PUCINSKI,
House of Representatives, Congress of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: I wish to congratulate you on the sponsorship of legislation to establish a series of Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers in educational institutions.

The need to these is obvious. As you see, we even created such a center in Arizona outside of educational institutions to gather proper material. Our Board of Officers consists of university professors and individuals interested in compilation of artifacts for university use.

Our Center was formed in the summer of 1969. We are interested in research concerning the past of all ethnic groups. Our files are expanding, and, after cataloguing the material, we will be ready for the exchange of artifacts with other centers.

May we offer our help in your extremely important campaign? Would our letters to the right persons help your bill? Please advise.

Most assuredly, your present effort will be a milestone in the Congressional plan to unite all peoples of this great nation.

I agree with the general opinion that you are the hardest working Congressman with a vision we have in Washington today. I wish to add at this time that I feel very proud of you.

With best wishes and kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR L. WALDO,
Director.

CHINESE AMERICAN CIVIC COUNCIL OF CHICAGO,
Chicago, Ill., February 1, 1970.

Hon. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am delighted to be the recipient of your letter of January 27. Your bill H.R. 14910 has the support of the Chinese American Community and I can sense their reaction because I have been working for them off and on for twenty years.

The Ethnic Heritage Studies Center Bill will broaden the outlook on life and of United States' relations with the rest of world when our people is enriched with the heritage and special talents of the many ethnic groups which make up the people of the United States. An important outgrowth of your bill will be the contribution to world understanding and the cause of peace when the countries of origins of our people in America learned that this country, building on the firm foundation of its democratic concepts, plans to study the various ethnic heritages for further enrichment of the stature of this country as the leader in world affairs and in our efforts to forge true understanding and unity of purpose among nations for the general wellbeing of mankind.

Many thanks again for letting us know of your Bill and assuring you of our support,

I am,

Sincerely

G. H. WANG.

ASSOCIATION OF LIBRARIANS OF UKRAINIAN DESCENT,
Chicago, Ill., March 9, 1970.

Congressman ROMAN PUCINSKI,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: We would like to express to you in behalf of the Association of Librarians of Ukrainian Descent our thanks for introducing in Congress Bill H.R. 14910, concerning establishing of Centers of Ethnic Heritage Studies.

This bill when enacted will be helpful for built up ethnic consciousness of Americans of different origin, their pride that their forefathers helped also build America, make them resistant to the communist propaganda and make them better Americans.

Respectfully yours,

ROMAN WERES, LL.D.,
President.
EMIL BASIUK, M.A.,
Secretary.